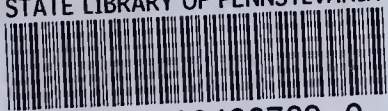



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The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.

Sam Houston

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. . . . It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire.

Mirabeau B. Lamar

CONTENTS

	PAGES
EARLY LITERARY CHANNELS BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN, by Clark Harris Slover.....	5
SHAKESPEARE AND ELYOT'S "GOVERNOUR," by D. T. Starnes	112
AN UNNOTED ANALOGUE TO THE IMOGEN STORY, by Robert Adger Law.....	133
"OTHELLO" AS A MODEL FOR DRYDEN IN "ALL FOR LOVE," by T. P. Harrison, Jr.....	136
MILTON'S EARLIER "SAMSON," by Evert Mordecai Clark	144
BROCKDEN BROWN'S FIRST ATTEMPT AT JOURNALISM, by David Lee Clark.....	155
POE'S READING: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA, by Killis Campbell	175

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EARLY LITERARY CHANNELS BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN*

BY CLARK HARRIS SLOVER

We have seen how the Irish and British maintained communication with each other through the planting of colonies, through military operations, through the setting up of trade routes, and through intermarriage. It is now our duty to investigate the channels of communication maintained through contact between Irish and British—particularly South British—monastic centers.

In our treatment of this phase of Irish-British relations we shall take account of the following features: (A) communication between Irish and British ecclesiastical centers, including (1) those Irish monasteries which preserve traditions connecting them with definite places in Britain and (2) those which show connection with Britain in general with no indication of the exact British territory; (B) the inter-relation between Irish monasteries which communicated with Britain; (C) the literary importance of Irish monasteries of the British circle (1) in their production of literature and (2) in their relations with other monasteries producing literature; and (D) the use of intermonastic channels for the transmission of literary material (1) in Ireland and (2) between Ireland and Britain.

As we approach the subject of Irish-British ecclesiastical relations, we are immediately attracted by the life stories of two very famous missionaries, Patrick, the British apostle to the Irish, and Columba, the Irish apostle to the North Britons. To our present purpose, however, the careers of these two men are not strictly essential. Patrick, although born in Britain, did not go to Ireland as a representative of the British church. His most famous companions, Auxilius, Secundinus, and Auserinus, were probably Gauls,

*A continuation of an article published in *Studies in English*, No. 6, pp. 5-52 (December, 1926).

and as far as we are able to discover, Patrick made every effort to introduce Christianity as it was practiced on the Continent. The rise of so-called Celtic Christianity took place at a later time. Even the long lists of British relatives who were supposed to have accompanied Patrick to Ireland are of little use to us as evidence of British influence in Patrick's actual ministry, for they appear only in late documents of doubtful authority for the period in question. At the same time it must be admitted that although Patrick's actual ministry was probably of no great importance to the establishment of permanent Irish-British ecclesiastical channels, the later traditions which grew up around his name afford valuable evidence of British influence in Ireland in subsequent periods. This evidence will be considered in its proper place.

Columba by his missionary efforts established relations between the Irish church and the church of North Britain. The literary channels thus established, however, fall within a different category from those in which we are interested here. We shall therefore leave them out of consideration for the present.

The earliest clear and unmistakable reference to ecclesiastical communication between Britain and Ireland occurs in the *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae* (ca. 750). This list divides the principal saints of Ireland into three classes or orders: the first includes Patrick and his companions (428-544); the second includes the saints from 544 to 599; and the third, the saints from 599 to 665.¹ Although the classification is almost entirely artificial and exhibits fundamental errors in chronology, it is of primary importance to our investigation, for it states that the second order of Irish saints received a mass from the Britons, David, Gildas,

¹*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, edited after Spelman and Wilkins by A. W. Haddan and William Stubbs, Oxford, 1869, II, 292 ff. Hereafter referred to as *H&S*.

and Doco.² This statement makes a convenient point of departure. Such a clue as this clearly lays upon us the obligation to investigate more fully the Irish connections of the British clerics mentioned.

1. St. David's and Ireland

David according to common tradition was the founder of the monastery of St. David's (formerly known as Menevia) in South Britain. The early history of this foundation is obscure, but if we may judge from the fact that David's name appears prominently in the life of Paul de Léon³ it must have been a place of some importance as early as the eighth century. Among the famous men later associated with this monastery were Asser, reputed biographer of Alfred,⁴ Ricemarch, the teacher and author, who composed a life of St. David, and Giraldus Cambrensis, the well-known historian. By the middle of the twelfth century it was the leading church of Wales, although some of its claims

²There seems little doubt that Doco is a variant of Cadoc, a person about whom we shall have more to say in due time. (See the discussion by E. Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor* XI (1890-91), 92, note 6.) Another variant of the same name is Catmail.

The Catalogus itself looks like the beginning of a scheme to organize the hagiographical material which had been piling up since the great missionary movement of the sixth century. We have other traces of such a scheme in the Latin lives of Patrick, Brigit, and Columba. It is especially noteworthy that one of the earliest attempts to put in order the facts of Irish ecclesiastical history should make such a direct and specific reference to British clerics.

³Edited by C. Cuissard, *Revue celtique*, V (1881-83), 43 ff. This life, composed in its present form by Wrmonoc of Landévennec, is probably based on much older documents. We may infer, therefore, that although Wrmonoc the author lived in the ninth century, a good share of the material may date from the eighth. The passage in which David is mentioned states that he was a pupil of Iltud and that he was called Aquaticus because he lived on bread and water (p. 413).

⁴See W. H. Stevenson in his *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, etc., Oxford, 1904, p. lxxi.

were sharply disputed by Llandaff, the principal church of Glamorganshire.⁵

The geographical situation of St. David's invited communication with Ireland. The neighboring harbor of Fishguard is, even to the present day, one of the principal ports for ships from Ireland, and the distance across the Irish Sea from there to Rosslare Harbor is almost exactly the same as that from Holyhead to Kingston, the most commonly used commercial route. As we have seen, a good share of the commercial traffic across Britain to the Continent must have passed by the doors of St. David's. We have also seen that the territory of Dyfed (roughly modern Pembrokeshire) was occupied for many years by a branch of the southern Irish family of the Dessi and by other Irish colonists who undoubtedly maintained relations with the mother country.⁶ With this in mind we do not find it surprising that St. David should be known and revered in Ireland.

The general esteem in which David was held in Ireland may be inferred from the fact that his death is recorded in the *Annals of Tigernach*⁷ compiled at Clonmacnoise

⁵See H&S, I. 390 ff., for full details of the controversy.

⁶*Studies in English* (University of Texas), No. 6, pp. 14-21.

⁷*Rev. celt.*, XVII, p. 158. Although the *Annals of Tigernach* are valuable as an indication of what was considered history by the eleventh and twelfth-century Irish, they are no longer regarded as the most trustworthy and dependable of the Irish annals. MacNeill's study of these annals reveals the fact that the text as we now have it is the result of a series of accretions, interpolations, and transpositions extending over a period of five or six centuries (see his summary *Eriu*, VII [1913-14], 106-8). The *Annals of Ulster*, on the other hand, are regarded as containing some genuine material of great antiquity and of unusual authority. The *Annals of the Four Masters* are a compilation made by the O'Clerys in the first half of the seventeenth century. The O'Clerys had access to a great body of Irish historical material that has since been lost, but the annals are so padded out with heroic and pseudo-historical material that it is extremely difficult for the reader to distinguish between the genuinely ancient and the modern. When properly controlled, however, they are valuable to the student of Irish history in that the compilers apparently had access to annals no longer extant which dealt with the affairs of South Ireland, thus supplying a serious deficiency in the *Annals of Ulster* and the

and in another set of annals preserved in the *Book of Leinster*.⁸

The David tradition, moreover, seems to be specially localized in certain important Irish monastic centers.

TALLAGHT (Tamlacht Mælrúain). The monastery is a comparatively late foundation, dating only from the middle of the eighth century,⁹ but it is notable as the residence of Oengus the Culdee, one of the few writers of ancient Ireland whose identity seems to be definitely established. His *Féilire* or *Martyrology*, which was begun at Clonenagh, and completed at Tallaght in 804,¹⁰ is still extant in nearly the same form in which it was originally composed. Although this martyrology includes for the most part the names of Irish and continental saints, David is duly commemorated on March 1. It is especially worthy of note that the name of the saint is accompanied by the name of his British home, Menevia, in the Irish form Cill Muine, a fact that implies that the place was well known in Ireland.

Another Tallaght document composed about 100 years later,¹¹ the so-called *Martyrology of Tallaght*, from which

Annals of Tigernach. The *Chronicon Scotorum* is an abridgement of the *Annals of Tigernach* made by Dudley MacFirbis. It is valuable to us chiefly because it supplies material dealing with the fifth century which is absent in the extant copies of the *Annals of Tigernach*; see the discussion by M. MacCarthy, *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus* No. 830 (Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series, III), Dublin, 1892, pp. 247–251. The *Annals of Inisfallen* were written down in the early thirteenth century, but they of course contain a good deal of earlier material.

⁸*The Book of Leinster*, sometime called the *Book of Glendalough* . . . published by the Royal Irish Academy, with introduction, analysis of contents, and index by Robert Atkinson, Dublin, 1880. Hereafter referred to as *LL* (facs.)

⁹The founder Mælrúan died A.D. 787. The monastery gave its name to the modern town of Tallaght, about five miles southwest of Dublin.

¹⁰*Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. Whitley Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Soc. Publ.), London, 1905, p. xxvi. Hereafter referred to as *Fél.*

¹¹The last person named therein died A.D. 899.

practically all but Irish saints are excluded, retains the name of David at March 1.¹²

¹²See the edition by Matthew Kelly, Dublin (1857). The date is discussed by the editor, Introduction, p. iv. The reverence in which the name of David was held at Tallaght gives additional interest to some of the evidence regarding the origin of the customs of the Culdees. The Culdees were monks who practiced a more simple, and at the same time less violently ascetic mode of life than their predecessors in Ireland. In the ninth century they were established in several of the principal monasteries of Ireland, including Tallaght, Clondalkin, Clonmacnoise, Scattery Island, Armagh, Devenish, Clones, and Pubble. (See Wm. Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands as they appear in History*, Dublin, 1886, pp. 7 ff., for a general discussion of the Culdees.) There seem to have been Culdees also at Terryglass, Bangor, and Lismore. (See "The Monastery of Tallaght," edited by E. J. Gwynn and W. J. Purton, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXIX (1911-12), 121-2.) Their practices are embodied in two extant documents, both dating ultimately from the ninth century. One of these is printed by Reeves (*op. cit.*), and the other by Gwynn and Purton (*op. cit.*). An entry in the *Chronicon Scotorum* [*A Chronicle of Irish Affairs for the Earliest Times to A.D. 1135*, edited with a translation by Wm. Hennessy, London, 1866 (Rolls Series)], under the year 811 would lead us to suspect that the Rule of the Culdees was brought from Britain. The entry is as follows: "It was in it (this year) the Céli Dé came over the sea from the south dry-footed without a boat; and a written roll used to be given to him from Heaven, out of which he would give instruction to the Gæidhel, and it used to be taken up again when the instruction was delivered; and the Céli Dé was wont to go each day across the sea, southwards, after imparting the instruction." There are two other entries referring to the Culdees in the same document. One of them at the year 919 states that Maonac the Culdee came *from the west* (probably a mistake for westward, since there was no place west of Ireland for him to come from); and the other at 946 tells of a Culdee coming from the south. It may be that the Maonac referred to is the same as the scholar Maonac, who died at Armagh in 955 (*Annala Uladh, Annals of Ulster, otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senait: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 481 to 1540*, ed. W. M. Hennessy (vols. 2-4 by B. MacCarthy), Dublin, 1887-1901. Hereafter referred to as *AU*). To these we should add Malach the British Culdee who appears in the ninth-century *Tripartite Life* of Patrick. See *The Tripartite Life of Patrick with other Documents Relating to that Saint*, ed. Whitley Stokes, London, 1887 (Rolls Series), p. 198. Anyone who has difficulty in accepting clerics from the south as British needs only to glance at a map of the British Isles. There

CLONFERTMULLOE (Cluan Ferta Molua)¹³ had for its patron Molua (otherwise known as Lugaid). According to the commentaries on the *Martyrology of Oengus*, Molua was confessor to David of Menevia.¹⁴ This statement, of course, cannot be accepted as evidence that David and Molua were personally acquainted in the sixth century, but it shows clearly that the monastery of which Molua was patron entertained feelings of friendliness toward St. David's at the time when the tradition took shape.

In the *Tripartite Life* of Patrick there is a Molua whom the writer connects with Imliuch Sescainn. He also refers to him as a Briton.¹⁵ If this be Molua of Clonfertmulloe,

he will see that visitors from South Britain to any ports in the northern half of Ireland would naturally be thought of as coming from the south. The case for the British origin of the Culdees is strengthened somewhat by the fact that Giraldus Cambrensis found Culdees firmly established in Wales in the twelfth century (see his *Itinerarium Kambriae* (*Opera*, vol. VI), ed. J. F. Dimock, London, 1868 (Rolls Series, p. 124).

¹³A parish in the barony of Clandonagh two miles west of Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's County, modern Kyle.

¹⁴*Fél.*, p. 182; also the commentaries in *LL*, p. 361 (lower margin). The date of these commentaries is doubtful. They appear variously in *LL* (twelfth century), *Leabhar Breac* (fourteenth century), and *Laud 610* (fifteenth century). Some of them may have been composed shortly after the original martyrology; others must be at least as late as the eleventh or twelfth century. An interesting, though possibly unreliable statement regarding the date of the commentaries is found in the *Leabhar Breac* and *Laud 610* scolia. The commentator offering an alternative explanation of the text prefaces it by the remark that it is found thus "in the commentary on the Calendar which has been in Armagh since the time of the saints (*ar is ed fil issin trachtad ind Felire atá o remus no nóem a n-Ardmacha*)."
(see *Fél.*, p. 152.) From this we may conclude that although the commentaries taken as a whole are of various date, certain parts of them must depend upon material at least as old as the early ninth century, the end of the period generally regarded as the "age of the saints."

¹⁵*Molué ailithir di Bretnaib domuintir Patraic indImliuch Sescainn fri tech Laisrend indes for ur Locha Ainninne* (p. 78). The place is, so far, unidentified. It seems to have lain somewhere on

we may explain the epithet Briton by the British associations of Molua in Irish ecclesiastical tradition. If, however, as seems likely, we are dealing here with a different character we must add another independent British tradition to our list.

The importance of the British connections of Molua's monastery lies in the fact that Molua was one of the better known saints of the "second order"—who, be it remembered, received their custom of celebrating the mass from the Britons—and hence his monastery exerted a strong influence upon a number of subordinate monasteries which claimed the patron.¹⁶ Among these were DRUMS-

Lough Ennel near Mullingar, Co. Westmeath. See also *Liber Ardmachus. The Book of Armagh*, ed. John Gwynn (published by the Royal Irish Academy), Dublin and London, 1913, p. 19a.

¹⁶The attachment of Killaloe to the Molua tradition is apparently the work of ecclesiastics under the direction of Brian Borumha. Killaloe is not mentioned in the annals until the eleventh century, when it appears as Cill Da Lua (the *Da-* prefix was often substituted for the *Mo-* or *Ma-* prefix). The church, which was near Kincora, Brian's manor house (see O'Donovan's *Ordnance Letters* (in Roy. Ir. Acad.), "Clare," p. 346), was built by Brian himself [*Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, ed. J. H. Todd, London, 1867 (Rolls Series), pp. 138-141], and one of the first abbots was his brother Marcan. The latter seems the only logical inference from the two following entries in the *Annals of the Four Masters* [*Annala riogachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan, Dublin, 1856 (hereafter referred to as *Four Masters*)] under the year 1009: *Marcán mac Cinnéittig, cend Cléireac Muman, décc. Comarba Coluim mic Criomtainn, .i. Tír da glás, Innsi Cealtra, Cille Dalua do écc.*—Marcan son of Cinnetig head of the clergy of Munster died. The successor of Colum Mac Crimthann, i.e. of Terryglass, Iniscealtra, and Killaloe died." As these entries now stand they leave the brother of Brian without any habitation, and the illustrious ecclesiastical ruler of three monasteries without a name. Such an oversight rarely occurs, even in the briefest entries. It seems probable, therefore, that the first "*décc*" should be omitted, and the entries combined. (See AU. A.D. 1110.) The various lives of Molua make no reference to Killaloe. He appears as founder first in the lives of Flannan, the traditional successor of Molua at Killaloe. For further discussion see below, pp. 106-108.

NAT (Drom Snechta)¹⁷ and SLIEVE BLOOM (Sleibhe Bladhma).¹⁸

FERNS (Ferna Mor Maedoc) in Co. Wexford, which for many years was the most powerful church of Leinster, is brought into contact with St. David's through the traditions of its founder Maedoc.¹⁹ One account of Maedoc's connection with St. David's is in the life of David by Ricemarch (late eleventh century), and another is in a still earlier Latin life of Maedoc.²⁰ Both of these lives state that Maedoc came to David as a pupil and after a sojourn marked by many wonders returned to Ireland, where he founded the monastery of Ferns.²¹ Here again we should observe that the story is of little value as proof of personal relations between David and Maedoc. It is valuable, however, as evidence of the attitude of Ferns toward St. David's at the time when the *Vita Maedoc* was composed. It would take strong British influence to make an Irish cleric assert that the patron saint of his monastery was the pupil of a Briton.

The connection between Ferns and St. David's appears again in a rather interesting story in the commentaries on the *Félire*, telling how fifty clerics came from St. David's to visit Maedoc because he had been a pupil of David.²² The point of the story is concerned with the fact that Maedoc, because of his training under David, would not eat meat or allow it to be served at Ferns. The knowledge of this fact argues familiarity with the tradition related of David in the *Life* of Paul of Léon that he lived on bread and water.²³

The tradition of the British connections of Ferns is further reflected in the life of Colman Elo. The writer of the

¹⁷*Fél.*, p. 180; *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Charles Plummer, Oxford, 1910 (hereafter referred to as *VSH*) II, p. 213.

¹⁸*Fél.*, p. 180.

¹⁹The name appears variously at Aedan, Edan, Mogue, etc.

²⁰For a further discussion of these lives, see below, pp. 93-106.

²¹*Vita David*, ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Y Cymmrodor*, XXIV (1913), p. 16; *Vita Maedoc*, *VSH*, II, p. 297.

²²*LL*, p. 285b. See also the version from *MS Rawl. B. 512* in *Fél.*, p. 54.

²³See note 3, above.

Life, in relating a visit of his patron to the founder of Ferns, describes Maedoc as accompanied by a British cleric.²⁴

CORK. Findbarr, or Bairre, the patron of Cork, is another South Irish saint who is brought into connection with David in Irish and British hagiographical tradition. According to the *Vita David*, Bairre became desirous of seeing the relics of Peter and Paul, and therefore undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. On his return he stopped to visit St. David, but remained only a short time because he was uneasy over the condition of his monastery. David furnished him with a miraculous horse which carried him safely and quickly over the sea to his destination.²⁵ The same story, with only slight modifications, appears in one of the lives of Bairre.²⁶ Here it is accompanied by the statement that an image of the horse was preserved at Cork down to the time of writing, a fact which makes it impossible to doubt that the purpose of the story was to explain the origin of one of the monastery's treasured relics. The significance of the story, of course, lies in the writer's choice of a journey from St. David's to Cork as a suitable explanation. The author must have felt that a legend of connection between Bairre and David was entirely in accord with the sentiments of his monastery and that it would be acceptable to his readers.

TASCOFFIN (Tech Scuithin). A similar story is related of Scuithin (Scutinus) who was sent by Maedoc to warn David of a plot against his life.²⁷ Since he was unable to find a boat, he was taken over the sea on the back of a

²⁴*Acta sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice Salmanticense*, ed. C. de Smedt and J. de Backer, Edinburgh and London, 1888 (hereafter CS,) col. 438. The section which contains the reference is omitted from the other (and probably later) recension printed by Plummer, *VSH*, I, pp. 258 ff., probably not because of the Briton, who enters the story very casually, but because the writer for some reason—possibly political—did not wish to use the main incident, namely, Maedoc's resuscitation of King Brandubh of Leinster.

²⁵*Vita David*, pp. 17–18.

²⁶*VSH*, I, p. 69, note 8. For further discussion of the *Vita Bairre*, see below, pp. 108–109.

²⁷*Vita David*, p. 17.

sea monster. This story is probably adapted to the needs of hagiography from the older tradition of the meeting of Scuithin and Bairre in the sea.²⁸ It is rather doubtful whether we are justified in ascribing to Tascoffin clerics the introduction of Scuithin into Irish-British hagiographical tradition. Since there is no Irish life of Scuithin, one cannot be sure whether his connection with Britain was a British or an Irish tradition. It may be that here we have a story adapted to hagiographical uses by British clerics who knew Irish material. If so, we cannot safely assume that Tascoffin claimed connection with Britain as did Ferns, Cork, and others. We cannot escape the inference, however, that St. David's claimed connection with the patron of Tascoffin.

EMLY (Imblech Ibair). Ailbe, the patron of Emly, is represented in Irish tradition as being in Britain at the time of David's birth. The story runs that he saw a priest who was trying to celebrate mass before his congregation, but was unable to speak. Ailbe explained the priest's predicament to the audience by pointing out in the congregation a pregnant woman who was to be the mother of David, a bishop. It was not lawful, he said, for a priest to say mass in the presence of a bishop unless commanded to do so.²⁹ When David was born, he was given to Ailbe to be educated.³⁰

²⁸*Fél.*, p. 40; *The Martyrology of Donegal. A Calendar of the Saints of Ireland*, translated by John O'Donovan, ed. J. H. Todd and Wm. Reeves, Dublin, 1864, January 2. Compare the secular tale of the meeting of Mannanan and Bran, *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal*, etc., by Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, London, 1897, I, 16 ff.

²⁹*Vita Albei* (CS), Par. 21; see also *Vita Albei* (VSH), I, p. 53. This story appears also in the *Vita David* (Par. 5), where the priest is no less a person than Gildas. For a full discussion of this incident and of the date of the *Vita Albei*, see below, pp. 91-93.

³⁰According to the *Vita David* (p. 8), Ailbe (or Elve), bishop of Munster, baptized David. The text makes him bishop of Menevia, an inconsistency too violent even for a saint's life, for the main point of the narrative, of course, is the foundation of Menevia by David. An interlinear gloss supplies *uel Muminensium*. See also the life by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* III, p. 383. J. E. Lloyd (*History of*

Another tradition of British contact is related in the birth story of Ailbe himself. He was adopted by a family of Britons living in slavery in East Cliach (the northeast corner of modern Limerick). When they had an opportunity to return home they departed, leaving Ailbe behind.³¹

ARDMORE. There is little to be learned of the connection of Declan, patron of Ardmore, with David beyond the statement in Declan's life that he made a journey to Rome and, on his return, visited David at Menevia, where the two saints exchanged vows of eternal friendship.³² We cannot regard this statement as any more than a formulation of a feeling of amity between the South Irish and the British foundation. If it is merely an echo of similar stories in the lives of other Munster saints, we must admit nevertheless that it is a voluntary and premeditated echo, which springs from a consciousness of some sort of affinity with Menevia.

SCATTERY ISLAND (Inis Cathaig). The church of Iniscathaig, on a small island at the mouth of the Shannon, ascribed its foundation to Senan. The relations between Senan and David are described in one of the later lives of the Irish saint. The story is that Senan made the usual pilgrimage to Rome, visited St. Martin, and stopped for a time at Menevia with David. When he departed, David gave him his own crozier as a pledge of friendship and fraternity.³³ This account, in its general outlines, resembles

Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest, London, 1911, p. 154) suggests that the place of Ailbe in the *Vita David* is due to the name of a neighboring community, Llaneilfw. This suggestion, however, does not militate against the assumption of connection between Emly and St. David's, an assumption based on the fact that the story was known and consciously preserved at both monasteries. It seems only fair, moreover, to call attention to the fact that a place name may arise from a legend as easily as a legend from a place name.

³¹VSH, I, p. 47.

³²VSH, II, p. 41.

³³*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford, (Anecdota Oxoniensia), 1890 (hereafter *LismSS*), lines 2056 ff. See also the account in the metrical life (*CS*, col. 755). David and Senan were such good friends that neither wished to live after the death of the other. Senan died when he was told by an angelic messenger of the death of David.

that of Declan. It seems to represent the writer's desire to provide an historical background for relations which existed at the time of writing, and possibly for relics in the possession of the monastery.

David is connected in a curious way with Tralee, Co. Kerry, by a statement in a tract relating to the mothers of Irish saints. The assertion is made that Magna (otherwise Mor), a sister of David of Menevia, was mother of Setna of Tralee.³⁴ She is also said to be the mother of Eltin (Moeltoc) of Kinsale, Co. Cork.³⁵ Thus two more Munster saints are brought into connection with David by Irish hagiographical tradition.

TIMOLEAGUE (Tech Molagga). Molagga, patron of Timoleague, according to an Irish life of doubtful date, visited David and brought back to Ireland a bell and a swarm of bees. He landed at Lann Beachaire (later Lambeker) north of Dublin, and from there proceeded to Cork, where he founded Tech Molagga.³⁶ Molagga's association with Lann Beachaire,³⁷ and possibly a misunderstanding of the place name Templeogue³⁸ seem to have attracted to him a tradition that belongs rightly to Modomnoc of Tipperaghny (Co. Kilkenny), the person generally supposed to have introduced bees into Ireland.³⁹ It is well worth noting that both are supposed to have brought the bees from the same place—St. David's in South Britain,—but that the

³⁴LL, 373a. "*Magna siur dabida cille mune mathair setna maic eiren do artragib cliac.*" For the identification of Artraighe Cliach with Tralee, see D. O'Donoghue, in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th Ser., I (1890-91), 703 ff.

³⁵Fél., December 11.

³⁶See the life edited from R.I.A. MS A. IV.1 by Fáinne Fionn in *The Irish Rosary*, XV (1911), 515-6. Another version (Brussels, MS Bibl. Roy. 2542-3) is available only in Colgan's Latin translation, AASSHib, January 20.

³⁷This connection has the authority of the commentaries on the *Félire*; see p. 48.

³⁸See E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, Dublin, 1910, s.v. "tech molaca."

³⁹Fél., pp. 74, 112, 464.

Vita David mentions only Modomnoc.⁴⁰ Molagga's bell seems to have been purloined from the traditions relating to Maedoc, who, according to both Irish and British tradition, received a bell from David.⁴¹ This manipulation of tradition offers additional testimony to the strong desire on the part of South Irish hagiographers to bring their saints into relation with David.

It was probably Irish interest in St. David's that led the commentators on the *Félire* to say that Brig and Duthracht, two unequivocally Irish saints, belonged to Menevia.⁴² It may be in recognition of this interest, furthermore, that the British attached a Patrick tradition to St. David's. The writer of the *Vita David* asserts that Patrick visited St. David's thirty years before the birth of David. He was told by an angel that his ministry was not to be in Britain, for that country was reserved for one yet to be born.⁴³ This story looks very much like an attempt to explain the origin of certain Patrician place names in South Britain without impairing the prestige of David. Such place names point to the presence in Britain of clerics interested in Irish ecclesiastical tradition. There is clear evidence, moreover, that there was a life of Patrick redacted in South Wales.⁴⁴

The foregoing evidence, combined with the prominence given to David in the *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, leads us to conclude that there may have been some truth behind the statement made by his biographer that nearly a third or a fourth part of Ireland served David.⁴⁵ Some further record of his popularity may be seen in certain early church dedications in Ireland. A list of the churches in the diocese

⁴⁰*Ed. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

⁴¹VSH, II, p. 300; *Vita David*, p. 19.

⁴²*The Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. Whitley Stokes, London (Henry Bradshaw Society Publ.), 1895 (hereafter *Mart. Gorm*).

⁴³P. 5.

⁴⁴J. B. Bury, "A Life of St. Patrick (Colgan's *Tertia Vita*)," *Trans. Royal Irish Academy*, XXXII (1903), 221.

⁴⁵*Vita David*, p. 19: "Verum pene tertia vel quarta Hibernie servit David Aquilento. . . ." *Aquilento* seems to be an error for *aquatico*,

of Ossory which invoke David as a patron are given in a manuscript of James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory (*ob.* 1693), copied by his successor, and edited by P. F. Moran.⁴⁶ In this list David is patron of Ullid in Iverk, Dungarvan in Claragh, Inchivologhan in Siller, Knocktopher in Kells, and Listerling in Obercorn.

CLONARD (Cluan Iraird), one of the chief seats of Irish learning, was founded by Finnian, who, like Maedoc, was a friend of David. The Irish life of Finnian relates his visit to Menevia, where he found David, Gildas, and Cathmael⁴⁷ contending for the supremacy in Britain. They called upon Finnian to arbitrate, and he gave judgment in favor of David because of his seniority.⁴⁸

2. *Llancarvan and Ireland*

The material dealing with Finnian of Clonard brings us to a consideration of another of the three British saints mentioned in the *Catalogue*, for the traditions of Finnian link him not only with David but with Cadoc (Doco) and, consequently, with Llancarvan. This monastery, situated in the south of Glamorgan, was at one time a place of some importance. It is probably best known to students of mediaeval literature as the residence of Caradoc, to whom is ascribed a *Vita Gildae* and a *Chronicle of the Welsh Princes*. Its early traditions are preserved in the *Vita*

the epithet often applied to David because he lived on bread and water. See the notes on this passage by the editor of the *Vita*. Lloyd (*History of Wales*, p. 155) suggests that *Aquilento* here means marsh, and refers to Ferns, the Welsh equivalent of which would be Guernin (*cf.* *gwern*, "a swamp").

⁴⁶*Spicilegium Ossoriensis*, Dublin, 1874-1884, I, pp. 6 ff.

⁴⁷Another form of the name Cadoc. See E. Phillimore, *Y Cym.*, XI (1891), p. 92, note 6. Phillimore explains that Cadfael (*OW* Catmail) was his proper name, and that the diminutive suffix *-oc* was substituted for the final element.

⁴⁸*LismSS*, lines 2537-2510; see also *CS*, coll. 191 ff.

Cadoci composed about 1075 by Lifris⁴⁹ *magister* of Llancarvan and son of Herwald, Bishop of Llandaff (1056–1104).⁵⁰

If the Doco mentioned in the *Catalogus* and in the *Annals of Ulster* (A.D. 473) be the same as Cadoc, the founder of Llancarvan must have been well known in Irish tradition.⁵¹ The specific connection between Llancarvan and the Finnian tradition is effected by a story in the Irish life of Finnian, which relates his founding of a church at that place.⁵² A visit of Finnian to Llancarvan is described in the *Vita Cadoci*, but the British writer bestows the honor of founding the church upon Cadoc. Apparently the distinction of having founded such a famous abbey was too rich a prize to give an Irish cleric. At the same time the writer includes a number of details that seem to be based on Irish tradition, and which betray an interest in Irish ecclesiastical characters. He mentions two companions of Finnian, MacMoil and Gavran (also called Gnavan and Guaran).⁵³ In honor of MacMoil, Cadoc founded a church now known as Mamhole in Bedwelty.⁵⁴ Gavran's name seems to be preserved in Nant Garbayn (the Irish equivalent of Nant Garfan [later Llancarvan])⁵⁵ and may be the same as the

⁴⁹See his subscription, *MS Cott, Vesp. XIV*, fol. 37^{ro}; W. J. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-Saints*, etc., Llandovery, 1853 (hereafter *CBSS*), p. 80.

⁵⁰Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 158.

⁵¹The name of Cadoc seems to have been used in Ireland. Alcuin mentions an Irish priest named Caidoc, who visited the Continent (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *SS. Rer. Mer.*, IV, 390). See also Caidoc's epitaph written by Angilbert (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Poetae*, I, 366).

⁵²*LismSS*, lines 2540–2550. Here the name is given as Nant Gabran. In the Latin version (*CS*, col. 194) it is Nant Garbayn. This corresponds with the earlier form of the name as preserved in British records, Nant Garfan. For a discussion of the dates of the various lives, see below.

⁵³*CBSS*, p. 36.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 88, 385–386. It is likely that the story of MacMoil is introduced to explain the name of the place. This, of course, does not alter the fact that the explanation is based on Irish tradition.

⁵⁵The variant *Gnavan* (see above) may be the name which enters into the compound *Manornowen* (formerly *Manernavan*) in Dewisland

Garban referred to in the *Book of Leinster* tract on the mothers of Irish saints as son of Finnian's sister.⁵⁶

Cadoc, moreover, is provided by his biographer with an Irish tutor, a certain Meuthi⁵⁷ about whom very little is known. The few traditional acts of this tutor have been made the subject of a separate life, which is preserved in the same manuscript with *Vita Cadoci*.⁵⁸ Here he appears as Tathan, which seems to be only a variant of the same name with the *Da-* prefix substituted for *Ma-*.

Another Irish detail in the *Vita Cadoci* is the incident of the Irish carpenter Liuguri (*Loegaire?*) who came to Britain with his children in search of work and was murdered by his jealous fellow-laborers.⁵⁹ This tale may be intended to explain the place name *Landlyigri*; on the other hand, it is just as likely that the legend gave rise to the name.

Returning to the tradition of Finnian's visit to Britain, we observe that when he returned to Ireland he was accompanied by two Britons, Bite and Genoc.⁶⁰ Of Bite we hear nothing further, but Genoc seems to have won a fairly prominent place in Irish tradition. He appears in the list of Finnian's pupils preserved in the *Codex Salmanticensis* collection of saints' lives;⁶¹ he is included in the fictitious list of fifteen bishops who were sons of Patrick's sister

Hundred, Pembrokeshire. There is also a *Kilnawan* in the parish of Llanboidy. See *The Description of Penbrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys*, edited by Henry Owen, London, 1892, etc. (Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 1), I, 290–291, note 3.

⁵⁶Garban appears in Irish ecclesiastical tradition also as occupant of Cell Garban, *Vita Coemgeni*, *VSH*, I, p. 249.

⁵⁷*CBSS*, pp. 25 ff.

⁵⁸*Cott. Vesp. A. XIV*. It is difficult to see why this life should have been written, for it explains nothing, and apparently glorifies no one. It seems to be based on some such set of incidents as are related in the *Vita Cadoci*, but the variation in the name *Meuthi/Tathan* must have taken place under Irish linguistic influence.

⁵⁹*CBSS*, pp. 46–48.

⁶⁰*CS*, col. 195.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, col. 200. Here he is called Mugenoch of Kylli Cumli. Hogan suggests (*Onom. Goed.*) Kilcooley.

Darerca;⁶² and he is mentioned as patron of Cill Dumai Gluind in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*.⁶³ Perhaps we may be permitted to speculate that Genoc was known to Irish ecclesiastical tradition as a Briton and that material relating to him was attracted to the traditions of Finnian and Patrick by the British connections of these two saints.⁶⁴

Two other passages in the *Vita Cadoci* define Llancarvan's relations with Ireland still more clearly. One refers to a tract of land somewhere on the River Liffey in east-central Ireland. This tract was the property of Llancarvan, and the steward refused to yield up its produce to the secular authorities. He was attacked and killed, but later by a miracle was restored to life. The king then, in recognition of the holiness of the church, granted further privileges and enlarged domains.⁶⁵ This anecdote no doubt has a familiar ring to readers of saints' lives, and it will be immediately recognized as the usual formula for the substantiation of a claim for land and immunities. Taken, therefore, at its minimum significance for our subject, we must allow that it reveals the fact that Llancarvan in the eleventh century (when the *Vita Cadoci* was composed) felt that it had a claim to certain lands on the River Liffey.

The other passage is still more decisive. It bears such unequivocal testimony to the relations between Llancarvan and Clonard that it should be quoted in full:

Testificantur etiam periti Hibernensium qui clunererunt [qui apud Clunererd MS]⁶⁶ in monasterio discipuli sui [Cadoci] beati Finiani degerunt, quod si quis ex clericis Sancti Cadoci iverit ad illos, honorifice eum suscipiunt; et ipsum velut unum ex illis heredem faciunt.

⁶²See the version of the list in *LL*, 372a21 ff.; see also *Mart. Don.*, Dec. 26, where he appears as son of Tigris, another sister of Patrick.

⁶³P. 68. The place referred to is modern Kilglin, bar. Upper Deece, par. Balfeaghan, Co. Meath, near Knocknatulla. *Mart. Gorm.* also mentions Mogenoc at Dec. 26 (p. 246).

⁶⁴Cadoc himself seems to have been drawn into the Patrick tradition in much the same way. In *Trip. Life* (pp. 190, 192) there is mentioned a Mochatóc who was a member of Patrick's community.

⁶⁵*CBSS*, pp. 78-79.

⁶⁶This is only one of many errors in Rees's text.

Et hoc fertur esse prognosticon justicie eorum, et priscum si seram monasterii tangendo, sine clave reseravit.⁶⁷

In this passage we see the record, not only of continued relations between the two monasteries, but also the consciousness on the part of the monks of Clonard of an obligation to Llancarvan.

Clonard is still further linked with Britain (although not necessarily with Llancarvan) by the tradition of Sanctan and Matoc. The scoliast's preface to the *Hymn of Sanctan* in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*⁶⁸ contains the statement that the author made the hymn as he was going from Clonard westward to Inis Matoc. He was a brother to Matoc and had followed him to Ireland, and they were both Britons. Sanctan did not have the knowledge of the Irish language up to that hour, but God gave it to him quickly. Confirmation of the British origin of *Sanctan* and *Matoc* is afforded by the *LL* tract on the mothers of Irish saints, where we find that Dechtire, daughter of Muiredach Muinderg, king of Ulster, was wife of Samuel Chendisil, and had two sons, Sanctan and Matoc.⁶⁹

Samuel Chendisil is the same as the Samuel Pennissel⁷⁰ of Welsh tradition. The name means "low-head." He is mentioned in the tenth-century genealogies attached to the *Historia Britonum* in *MS Harleian 3859* as son of Pappo Post Priten.⁷¹ He appears also in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie* (III, 19)⁷² as successor of Rydderch in the kingship. The relation between him and Samuel Bennuchel ("high-head") is interesting. Samuel Bennuchel is mentioned in the Welsh *Triads* as one of the three haughty men of Britain,⁷³ and also as a member of King Arthur's court in the romance of *Kulwch and Olwein*.⁷⁴

⁶⁷CBSS, p. 79.

⁶⁸Ed. Bernard and Atkinson, London, 1898 (Henry Bradshaw Society Publications), I, 129.

⁶⁹*LL*, 372d.

⁷⁰Welsh *p* is equivalent to Irish *c* in this position.

⁷¹In J. Loth *Les Mabinogion*, Paris, 1913, II, 341-342.

⁷²Ed. San Marte, pp. 43-44.

⁷³Loth, *Mab.* II, 259.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, I, 282.

There is no doubt that they are one and the same person, for the genealogies from *MS Hengwrt 536* (14th cent.) substitute Sawyl Penuchel for Samuel Pennissel as son of Pappo Post Priten,⁷⁵ and the *Brut Tyssilio*, a Welsh redaction of Geoffrey's *Historia*, makes a similar substitution.⁷⁶ J. Loth thinks that the substitution first occurred in the *Triads*; that the writer, feeling that "low-head" was a poor name for a haughty man, changed the original name Pennissel to Penuchel ("high-head").⁷⁷

Various Irish references to Sanctan show that the same confusion obtained in Ireland. The passage in the *Book of Leinster* already quoted says he was son of Cendissel ("low-head"). Another reference to Sanctan is glossed *cendmar* ("great head").⁷⁸ Still another refers to bishops Santan, Sanctan, and Lethan as sons of the British king Cantoin.⁷⁹ Whatever this last name may mean, it falls in with the others in this tradition, for it contains the *cenn* ("head") element. All together this set of facts illustrates quite clearly the community of ecclesiastical tradition between Britain and Ireland. It is especially noteworthy, moreover, that in Ireland this tradition should have been associated with Clonard, a monastery which we know, on other grounds, to have been closely connected with Llan-carvan.

LISMORE. By including among the acts of Cadoc a visit to Mochutu (Carthag), the writer of the *Vita Cadoci* claims for Llancarvan a direct connection with Lismore.⁸⁰ It is interesting to observe that according to this tradition Cadoc goes to Mochutu as a pupil, whereas Finnian, who occupies a far more important place in Irish ecclesiastical history than Mochutu, appears in turn as a pupil of Cadoc. This arrangement makes Mochutu older than Finnian and places

⁷⁵*Mab.* (ed. Loth), II, 349.

⁷⁶Ed. San Marte, p. 508.

⁷⁷*Mab.*, II, 259, note 2.

⁷⁸*LL*, 360c.

⁷⁹*LL*, 353b; see also *BB* quoted by Hogan (*Onom. Goed.*, s.v. "cell espiscopi sanctani"), where *Laebán* is substituted for *Santan*.

⁸⁰*CBSS*, pp. 35-36.

him in a position of greater prestige. It is tempting to suspect that in making this statement the writer of the *Vita Cadoci* was inspired by some such piece of Lismore propaganda as the *Vita Carthagi*, which contains the assertion that students came to Lismore from all parts of Ireland and also from Anglia and Britain.⁸¹

AGHABOE (Achad Bo Cainnich). Cainnich, the founder of Aghaboe and patron of Kilkenny, appears in Irish tradition as a pupil of Cadoc. After he had completed his schooling, he went to Rome, and from there he returned to Ireland. Later he made another journey to Britain, where for a time he led a hermit's life "at the foot of a certain mountain."⁸² This account, like others we have examined, fails to inspire us with any great confidence in the reality of the events which it relates; but it bears clear testimony to the desire of the author to show that his patron was on friendly terms with the founder of Llancarvan.

CLONFERT (Cluan Ferta Brennain). Brendan, the famous navigator and traditional founder of Clonfert, is clearly associated with Llancarvan in hagiographical literature. The ninth-century life of St. Malo even goes so far as to make him abbot of Llancarvan.⁸³ Irish hagiographical tradition also conceives of Brendan as a visitor to Britain. Both Hiberno-Latin and Irish lives describe his meeting with Gildas in Britain and his victory over the British saint in a thaumaturgical contest.⁸⁴ On this same visit he is supposed to have founded Ailech or Auerech. Plummer suggests that these two names are in reality corruptions of the names of two separate places, Reoric and Relic (now Flatholme and Steepholme), two islands in the

⁸¹VSH, I, 187.

⁸²VSH, I, 155-158.

⁸³Cap. I, in the text as edited by F. Lot, *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne*, Paris, 1907, p. 295. For the date, see Lot, *ibid.*, pp. 166 ff. Lot thinks that the *Vita* was composed at Llancarvan, where the author had access to a version redacted by a Briton who had tried to make Brendan a Welsh saint.

⁸⁴VSH, I, 141; *Bethada Náem nÉirenn (Lives of the Irish Saints)*, Oxford, 1922, I, 83-84. Hereafter referred to as BNE.

Severn estuary.⁸⁵ Irish tradition, moreover, has endowed Brendan with two British companions, Senan,⁸⁶ a young boy, and Moneu (or Monenn), a priest.⁸⁷ According to one tradition this priest was at the bedside of Brendan when the famous saint died,⁸⁸ and he is frequently mentioned as Brendan's successor in the abbacy.⁸⁹

3. *Llan Iltud and Ireland*

The third member of the British triad mentioned in the *Catalogue of Irish Saints* is Gildas. Although his actual existence is undeniable, the passage of time has allowed to accumulate about his name such a tangled growth of tradition that it is extremely difficult to separate the Gildas of history from the Gildas of legend. One thing may certainly be said without hesitation, however,—Gildas was known and revered by the Irish. How much of the Gildas whom they revered was a man and how much a myth

⁸⁵VSH (Index Top.), II, 315–316. The contact between Irish and British ecclesiastical tradition is here again illustrated, for according to Plummer (*loc. cit.*) these two islands are to be further identified with Echni. The latter place appears in the Welsh records as the residence of Gildas (see *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, edited by J. G. Evans and J. Rhys, Oxford, 1893, p. 131; also the *Vita Gildae* ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Chronica Minora*, III, 109). The *Vita Cadoci* states that it was here that Gildas made his copy of the Gospels (CBSS, p. 66). Further evidence of the acquaintance of Irish hagiographers with this island appears in the life of Finnian of Clonard. See CS, col. 193, for a description of Finnian's visit to the island.

⁸⁶*Vita prima S. Brendani*, in VSH, I, 145. This incident is taken over by the writer of the *Vita Ruadani*, VSH, II, 244.

⁸⁷VSH, I, 145; see also the Irish life, BNE, I, 87.

⁸⁸LL, p. 371a.

⁸⁹See the various Irish martyrologies under March 1; also AU, under the year 571. The conception of this man as a Briton may have arisen from the fact that commentators were in the habit of identifying another person of the same name (see the martyrologies under September 16) with Nynian, founder of the Martinist monastery of Candida Casa in North Britain. For a discussion of this identification, see C. Plummer in his edition of Bede, II, 128.

is not particularly essential to this discussion. The important point is that this Briton is mentioned in the Irish martyrologies,⁹⁰ and his death is recorded in the most trustworthy of the Irish annals.⁹¹

The Breton biographer of Gildas, Vitalis of Ruys, attempted about 1060⁹² to supply the details of Gildas' connection with Ireland. He asserted that Gildas had journeyed to Ireland to complete his education, and then returned to Britain to combat heresy. In response to Brigit of Kildare's request for a memento, he made a bell and sent it to her in Ireland. In the reign of King Ainmire he was asked to return to Ireland and restore the church, which had fallen into error.⁹³ There is little here to help us in recovering the actual life record of Gildas. Even the coincidence that Ainmire was an actual Irish king contemporary with Gildas hardly indicates anything more than that the compiler of the *Vita* had access to Irish annals. For the mingling of Irish and British hagiographical tradition, however, it is of primary importance. In the reference to Brigit we see a reflection of an interest in Kildare. Since Brigit has gained rather an important position in the general body of hagiographical lore in Britain,⁹⁴ we may be justified in supposing

⁹⁰*Fél.*, Jan. 29. See also *Mart. Tall.* under the same date: "*Gilde Eps et Sapiens.*" This martyrology is devoted almost exclusively to native Irish saints.

⁹¹*AU*, under the year 569. The duplicate record at A.D. 576 is due to the fact that the compilers have conflated two previous sets of annals. For full discussion see Eoin MacNeill, *op. cit.*

⁹²For the date see F. Lot, *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne*, p. 260.

⁹³*Vita Gildae*, *MGH, Chron. Min.*, III, 93-94.

⁹⁴There are a score of church dedications to her in Wales (see Baring-Gould and Fischer, *Lives of the British Saints*, etc., London, 1907-1913, s.v. "Brigit"). Note especially the two twelfth-century dedications at Erchenfield and Schenvrit, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, edited by J. G. Round, London, 1899 (Record Commission), I (918-1206), p. 413. Her name is included in the genealogies of British saints (*CBSS*, p. 270), and she was invoked as a guardian of travellers in the twelfth century (see W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, etc., Edinburgh, 1868, II, 44).

that monks and nuns from Kildare helped to spread her fame through South Britain.

Brigit's tradition in Ireland shows an interest in Britain. The later lives of Brigit state that she was consecrated by the Bishop Mel, who had just come from Britain.⁹⁵ Perhaps it would be hazardous to ascribe this incident to a consciousness of British influence in the affairs of Brigit and her successor at Kildare. It may be due only to a desire to establish a connection with the Patrick tradition, for Mel appears in the *Tripartite Life* as one of the sons of Darerca, Patrick's sister,⁹⁶ and it is further stated there that he and Rioc came from Britain with Patrick.

The episode of Brigit's encounter with a group of Britons who insisted on being healed on Sunday seems to be a genuine reflection of the presence of Welsh clerics in Ireland.⁹⁷

The foregoing traditions of British contact, though scattered and somewhat indefinite, find support in the unequivocal statement of the annals that a certain Briton, Aedgen, was Bishop of Kildare in the ninth century.⁹⁸

Returning to the tradition of Brigit included in the *Vita Gildae*, then, we have no difficulty in seeing why it should have been included in the life of a South British saint. At what monastery this tradition became attached to the life of Gildas it is difficult to say. It seems certain that Vitalis of Ruys, the author, received a good part of his material from Britain, and we should naturally conclude that it came from one of the places which claimed Gildas as a patron. The problem is complicated somewhat by the fact that Gildas is connected in British tradition with Glastonbury,⁹⁹

⁹⁵CS, col. 3; *LismSS*, lines 1175-1178. In these lives, Mel is her guide and confidant throughout.

⁹⁶P. 82.

⁹⁷*Three Homilies on the Lives of Saints Patrick, Brigit, and Columba*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Calcutta, 1877, p. 72.

⁹⁸AU, s.a. 863.

⁹⁹See the *Vita* ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, *MGH, Chron. Min.*, III, 109-110.

Llancarvan,¹⁰⁰ and Llan Iltud.¹⁰¹ Since it is the Ruys life which connects him with Llan Iltud, one is inclined to feel that it was here that the tradition connecting him with Brigit was found. If there were to be discovered in the material concerning Brigit in Ireland any mention of Gildas or Llan Iltud, we should feel justified in assuming that there existed direct relations between Kildare and the British monastery. In the absence of such evidence, however, the traditions at our disposal point merely to a noteworthy inter-penetration of hagiographical material. About the connection of Gildas with the religious and intellectual life of Ireland we shall have more to say later.

BEN EDAIR. Samson of Dol, whose tradition in Britain connects him with the monastery of Llan Iltud, is said by his biographer to have founded a monastery in Ireland. While the account of Samson's visit to Ireland is rather bare of details, it is of unusual value as evidence, for the life in which it appears seems to be based on the testimony of Samson's immediate successors at Llan Iltud.¹⁰² According to the earliest redactions of this life, Samson made a journey to Ireland, where he founded a monastery on the Hill of Howth (Ben Edair). When he departed he left his uncle in charge of it.¹⁰³ The account of Samson preserved in the twelfth-century *Book of Llan*

¹⁰⁰His evangelium was used as a swearing relic at Llancarvan (*CBSS*, p. 66), and his bell was presented to Cadoc (*ibid.*, pp. 58-60).

¹⁰¹Along with Samson, Magloire, Paul, and others he is said to have been a pupil of Iltud, the Armorican patron of Llan Iltud. *MGH, Chron. Min.*, III, 92.

¹⁰²The actual date of composition of the earliest extant version is placed by R. Fawtier in the late eighth century (*La vie de Saint Samson*, "Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études (Sciences hist. et phil.), CXCVII fasc, Paris, 1912, pp. 76-77), and by J. Loth (supporting F. Duine) at the beginning of the seventh century ("La vie la plus ancienne de Saint Samson," *Rev. celt.*, XL, 1923, 47).

¹⁰³See the text edited by Fawtier (*op. cit.*), pp. 134-136. The name of the place is variously given as Arce Etri, Arce Etride, Arcea, Area, Arte Etri, Arte Aetri. The identification with Ben or Dun Edair is made by R. I. Best, quoted by J. Loth, *Rev. celt.*, XXXIX (1922), 329.

Dâv states that his father came from Ireland,¹⁰⁴ and another version contains the statement that Samson himself went to school in Ireland.¹⁰⁵

On the basis of the foregoing evidence we may conclude that the traditions of St. David's, Llancarvan, and Llan Iltud reflect, in numerous instances, a consciousness of direct contact with important Irish monasteries. Investigation of other Irish-British hagiographical material reveals still further connections.

4. *Cybi in Ireland*

ARAN. Cybi, a monk of St. David's is credited in British tradition with adventures which took him to the Island of Aran. Accompanied by Maelauc,¹⁰⁶ Libiau, Peulan, and Kengair (Cyngar),¹⁰⁷ he went from St. David's to Aran, where he built a church.¹⁰⁸ Here he came into conflict with Fintan, a peppery character who seems to be well established in later Irish hagiographical literature.¹⁰⁹ Fintan expelled Cybi and his community and forced them to move on to the eastern part of Meath, where they established the church of Mochop¹¹⁰ (probably modern Killmore, near Artaine.)¹¹¹ When Fintan heard of this settlement he came and drove the British saints away again.

¹⁰⁴*Ed. cit.*, p. 6, "*de regione methiana.*"

¹⁰⁵*Analecta Bollandiana*, VI (1887), 124.

¹⁰⁶The name *Maelach* or *Malach* for a British cleric entered early into the hagiographical lore of Ireland (see the reference to the companion of St. Patrick, *Trip. Life*, p. 198).

¹⁰⁷J. A. Robinson describes a life of Cungar, which he thinks was probably written in the twelfth century by Caradoc of Llancarvan. An earlier form of this life he considers to have been the basis of the lives of Cadoc and Iltud in *MS Cott. Vesp. A. XIV, Journal of Theological Studies*, XX (1918-1919), 97-108; XXII (1921-1922), 15-22.

¹⁰⁸*Vita Kebii, MS Cott. Vesp. A. XIV*, 86 ff. (CBSS, 184-185). There is another *Vita Cybi* in the same manuscript, 94 ff., which is not essentially different from the one quoted.

¹⁰⁹*Mart. Don.*, p. 192; *Mart. Gorm.*, July 13. His irritability may have been grafted upon him from another Fintan (otherwise known as Munnu) of Taghmon, who has a similar reputation.

¹¹⁰*MS Cott. Vesp. A. XIV, loc. cit.*

¹¹¹J. F. Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, Dublin, 1882, p. 262, note 2.

This time they went to the territory of Breg. Here, too, they were followed by Fintan, who not only drove them off the land, but insisted on their embarking in skinless coracles to prove their piety.¹¹² They survived this ordeal and landed on the shores of Anglesey at *Caer Gybi* (Holyhead), where they were at last successful in establishing a permanent settlement.

We dare not assume on the basis of so late a document as this life that the things related actually happened to Cybi. One cannot read the narrative, however, without feeling that they must have happened to some British cleric. The story is plain and sober, and, except for the introduction of occasional miracles, generally credible. If we leave out of account such uncontrollable elements as the actual identity of the hero and the very early date at which the events are supposed to have occurred, we may accept the narrative at least as fairly typical of what might happen. The setting out from St. David's is quite in accord with what we have learned of the connection between Menevia and Irish monasteries, and the attempt to found an ecclesiastical colony in Aran and the consequent persecution by a vindictive rival are compact of the harsh material of life.

An entry in one of the Welsh chronicles has an interesting bearing on the probable origin of the story. We are told that when the Irish invaded the island of Anglesey in 961 they carried off the coffin of Cybi, and that they kept it for 100 years.¹¹³ The recovery of Cybi's relics, then, must have occurred in 1061. Here would have been a golden opportunity for the compilation of the life of the saint.

¹¹²When Cybi was thus driven off, he uttered a curse upon Fintan to the effect that his churches would be deserted, and not three of them would be found in all Ireland. This statement, inspired, of course, by the unflourishing state of the Fintan churches at the time of writing, would be of great value in dating the *Vita* if we could find out more about the history of the Fintan foundations.

¹¹³*Brut y Tywysogion. The Gwentian Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan*, ed. with a translation by Aneurin Owen, *Archæologia Cambrensis, Supplement*, 1863 (referred to hereafter as *Gwentian Brut*), pp. 28-29.

The elements that should naturally enter into such a life would be a legend of the way in which a well-known place came to bear his name (Caer Gybi), a story showing his connection with some important monastic center in Wales, and some sort of narrative to provide the background for the feeling of resentment toward the Irish. All these things are duly included in the narrative and seem to be drawn from fairly authoritative tradition.¹¹⁴

5. *The Sons of Bracan in Ireland*

A passage in the *Book of Leinster* gives a list of the "ten [in reality eleven] sons of Dina, daughter of the Saxon king, and Bracan, son of Brachameoc of Britain."¹¹⁵ To each son's name is added the name of the monastery or church of which he was founder or patron. The Bracan here mentioned is undoubtedly the same as the Brachan Brecheiniauc of British tradition. According to the tract *De situ Brecheiniauc*,¹¹⁶ preserved in a manuscript of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, he was son of Marchel, daughter of Teudor, who had married an Irish prince Anlach. He was father of ten sons and many daughters, from whom were descended a large number of the saints of Brecknock.

There is obviously some relation between the Bracan of the British and of the Irish document, but the relation is confused. According to the Irish document he is son of Bracameoc; the Welsh makes him son of Anlach. It seems fairly clear, however, that the Irish account derives directly or indirectly from the Welsh. Brecheiniauc is undoubtedly the proper form, being the name from which is derived the modern Brecknock. The Irish writer must have had before him

¹¹⁴The traditions of Cybi's founding of the church at Holyhead and of the preservation of his relics in Anglesey point unmistakably to North Wales as the scene of the authorship of the life.

¹¹⁵P. 372d.

¹¹⁶*MS Cott. Vesp. A. XIV*, fol. 10^{vo} ff.; edited by Rees, *CBSS*, pp. 272 ff.; a better edition in *Y Cymmrodor*, XIX (1906), 24-27.

a document in which there appeared the words *Brachan Brechainiauc* (i.e., Bracan of Brecknock). Being accustomed to the Irish habit of setting down a son's name followed by the father's name (in the genitive case) without the word *mac*, he naturally assumed that Bracan was the son and Brecheiniauc the father. The *Book of Ballymote*, although it is a much later manuscript, preserves a more nearly accurate version:¹¹⁷ "*Bracan ri Bracineoc do Bretnaib*,—Bracan king of Brecknock of the Britons." The Bracan of the Irish document, therefore, is the same as the Brachan of the Welsh.

As we proceed to examine the names of the sons of Bracan named in the British and Irish lists, it is most disconcerting to observe that, even allowing for linguistic differences, it is only possible to equate two or three names in the Irish list with corresponding ones in the British list, and even these are doubtful. The problem presented by this difficulty is susceptible of two solutions. First, we may assume that it is literally true that Bracan was the ancestor of a long line of saints and princes. If we accept this hypothesis, there is nothing to prevent our going still further and assuming that the lists represent two sets of sons, ten of whom remained in Wales, and ten migrated to Ireland. This solution places too great a strain upon our credulity. In the light of the fact that much, if not most,

¹¹⁷Facs., pp. 213b39–214a5. In other respects it is less accurate. The name *Dergne*, a foundation of Mogoroc, which in *LL* is an inter-linear gloss, is incorporated into the text as "*ocus draigne*" to the detriment of sense, for it produces the reading: *Mogoroc oculus draigne sruthra*; whereas *LL* reads: *Mogoroc (.i. dergne) sruthra*. These divergences make it clear that neither of these accounts is derived from the other. The addition of an eleventh son to a list which avowedly consists of ten shows, moreover, that neither is the original. We may safely conclude, therefore, that before the compilation of the *Book of Leinster* in the middle of the twelfth century there was in existence an Irish document which contained this list of Bracan saints; and that this document was in turn based upon a still earlier British document resembling the *De situ Brechciniauc*. Hence the whole tradition falls easily within the time limits set for our investigation.

of the Irish and British genealogical data now at our disposal were manufactured for political purposes, it seems more reasonable to adopt a second solution: that the tradition of Brachan Brecheiniauc was merely a stock device to account for the beginnings of a powerful ecclesiastical family in Brecknock, and that the Irish sons of Bracan are intended to represent a group of Brecknock clerics who settled in Ireland, chiefly along the southeast coast opposite South Wales. It is not at all unlikely that a group of Brecknock clerics should be called "sons of Bracan"; and nothing is more natural than that Irish clerics who learned the British tradition of the "sons of Bracan" should adapt it to their own purposes. As for the settlement of Brecknock clerics in South Ireland, it is only what we should expect in view of the prevalence of Irish in Brecknock and in South Wales generally.¹¹⁸

We may now examine the locations of the various foundations associated with these clerics in Irish hagiographical tradition.

1. Mochonoc the Pilgrim of Cell Muccraisse and of Gallen in Delbhna Ethra. Cell Muccraisse is now the townland and parish of Kilmuckridge, Co. Wexford. Gallen, in the barony of Gerrycastle, King's Co, was called "Gallen of the Britons" in the ninth century.¹¹⁹ The British associations of Mochonoc's name may have been the cause of the appearance of a saint by this name in the train of St. Patrick.¹²⁰ The contact of Gallen with British tradition is further exemplified by the fact that another Briton, Colman Britt, is mentioned as residing there.¹²¹ As for Mochonoc's original habitat in Ireland, one feels inclined to agree with Shearman's suggestion that it was the parish now called Kilmacanig in northeast Wicklow.¹²²

¹¹⁸See my discussion of the Irish secular contact with Britain, *Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926, pp. 14-26.

¹¹⁹AU, A.D. 822, "*Galline na mBretan exustum est o Feidlimidh, cum totie habitatione et cum oratorio.*"

¹²⁰See Mochonoc of Inis Fail, *Trip. Life*, p. 192.

¹²¹LL (*fac.*), p. 367.

¹²²*Loca Patriciana*, p. 156. Shearman also sees in Mochonoc the equivalent of Cynon in the Welsh list of the sons of Bracan.

2. Cairinne of Cell Cairinne. Cairinne's church is placed by Lanigan in the parish of Carn, near Carnsore Point in southeast Wexford.¹²³

3. Cairpre the Pilgrim of Cell Chairpre in Síl Fhorannáin. Although Hogan suggests a place in Wexford,¹²⁴ he does not attempt an exact identification. Shearman, however, places it at Kilcarbry near the place where the Broemties into the Slaney.¹²⁵

4. Mogoroc of Sruthair. In the list his place is glossed as Dergne (modern Delgany in Co. Wicklow). This gloss is probably influenced by the tract on Irish saints of the same names, where Mogorocs are given for Sruthair, Dergne, and Land Leri.¹²⁶ Sruthair and Dergne, therefore, are not the same. Hogan (*Onom. Goed.*) suggests Shrúle in Co. Dublin as the possible location of Sruthair. Land Leri, the other place associated with the name of Mogoroc, seems to be modern Dunleer, Co. Louth.¹²⁷ Like Gallen, Land Leri seems to have been regarded as a center of British influence, for a passage in *LL* refers to the fifty Britons with the sons of Moinan at Land Leri.¹²⁸

5. Duban of Rind Dubain of the Pilgrims. Rind Dubhain is unquestionably Hook Point on the coast of Wexford.¹²⁹ It may be possible to find a place for Dubhan in

¹²³*An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, from the First Introduction of Christianity among the Irish to the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century*, by John Lanigan, Dublin, 1829, I, p. 468.

¹²⁴*Onomasticon Goedelicum*, s.v. "Cell Chairpre."

¹²⁵*Loca Patriciana*, p. 157.

¹²⁶*LL*, 368. See also *Fél.*, p. 168.

¹²⁷This is the identification made by Reeves in Todd's *Wars of the G&G*, p. xl. Hogan, *Onom. Goed.*, mentions the earlier opinion held by O'Donovan and Colgan that the place referred to is Lynn, near Lough Ennel, Westmeath, but inclines to the location given by Reeves.

¹²⁸*Facs.*, p. 373d. For the two sons of Moinan see the martyrologies under June 18. Note the persistence of British tradition in connection with this name. Cf. Monenn, the follower of Brendan.

¹²⁹See J. Graves, "Notes on the Topography and History of the Parish of Hook, County of Wexford," *Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archaeological Society, Proceedings*, III (1854-1855), pp. 194 ff. The modern name owes its origin to the fact that *dubhan* as a common noun means *fishhook*.

British tradition. Rhys sees in the name the equivalent of *Dyfan*, who appears in a later recension of the Welsh list of the sons of Bracan,¹³⁰ and possibly also of the Dobagni which appears on an inscribed stone in Jordanstown, Pembrokeshire.¹³¹

6. Elloc of Cell Moelloc of Loch Garman. This church is probably the one referred to in a charter of 1172 as St. Aloch's near Wexford. There is also a St. Tullogue parish in the town of Wexford.¹³²

7. Coeman the Pilgrim of Cell Chemain in Gesill "and other places." The place most clearly associated with Coeman is Kilcavan parish about three miles northwest by north of Gorey and twelve miles northeast of Ferns, Co. Wexford.¹³³ There is another Kilcavan parish in the south of Co. Wexford.¹³⁴ Colgan locates the place mentioned in the list as somewhere near modern Geisill, King's Co.¹³⁵ Shearman calls attention to the entry in the *Martyrology of Donegal* (June 12) which refers to Coemhan of Ard Caemhan by the side of Loch Garman in Leinster. This, he thinks, must mean Dairinis in Wexford Haven.¹³⁶

8. Mobeoc of Glinne Gerg. This saint is known also as Dabeoc. The place mentioned here is probably Loch Derg, for in the commentaries on the *Félire* for December 16 he is mentioned as MoBeoc of Loch Gerg. It should be noticed that there is also a commentary which places him at Loch Garman (Wexford Harbor).¹³⁷ Further trace of him seems to remain in the parish of Carn, Co. Wexford.¹³⁸

¹³⁰The list is printed in *Myverian Archæology*, II, p. 29. For Rhys's conjecture, see *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., XV (1898), 58.

¹³¹*Arch. Camb.*, *loc cit.*; also *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., XIV (1897), 324-325.

¹³²Hogan, *Onom. Geod.*, s.v. "Cell Moelloc." Loch Garman is Wexford Harbor.

¹³³Hogan, *Onom. Geod.*, s.v. "Cell Chaemain."

¹³⁴*Loc. cit.*

¹³⁵*AASSHib.*, p. 493.

¹³⁶*Loca Pat.*, p. 160.

¹³⁷*Fél.*, p. 260.

¹³⁸A stone church, cashel, cemetery, and holy well are ascribed to his foundation at Carn, by Margaret Stokes, *Journal of the Royal*

9. Iast of Slemnach Alban. This place is so far unidentified, although Shearman thinks that Jast may be the saint who is patron of Fuerty (Roscommon) and Ardbraccan.

10. Paan of Cell Phaain. Kilfane (town and parish) in the central part of Kilkenny seems clearly to be the modern representative of Cell Phaain. Paan is venerated there on December 16.¹³⁹ Rhys calls attention to the fact that at Llandrudian in the parish of St. Nicholas in Pembrokeshire there is a stone bearing the inscription "*paan*."¹⁴⁰ This is not far from the place where occurs the inscription *Dobagni*, which he suggests as the equivalent of *Dubhan*. While this coincidence proves nothing definitely, it is at least noteworthy that the two names of the "sons of Bracan" should appear in neighboring localities in two separate countries accompanied by a tradition of emigration.

11. Diraidh of Etardruim. This is possibly the parish of Drum, barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon.¹⁴¹ Beyond this there is little to be said. It should be added, however, that since most of the churches connected with the "sons of Bracan" are in the southeast of Ireland, it is likely that sooner or later we shall locate Diraidh more definitely in that section of the country.

As we have already observed, it seems likely that the Irish tradition which gathers together this group of clerics as "sons of Bracan" is a reflection of the British tradition of the descent of an important group of ecclesiastical personages from a common ancestor. In British hagiographical tradition, nearly every saint of any importance is held to be the descendant either of Bracan, Cunedda, Bran, or Caw. It is not difficult to see, therefore, that in the Bracan tradition we have to do with certain great families who had secular and ecclesiastical control over most of the monasteries of South Britain. The genealogies were composed

Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, XXIII (1893), 382-385. Shearman, *op. cit.*, p. 157, thinks that the name of the saint may be preserved in St. Vakes, a church at the extreme end of Carnsore Point.

¹³⁹Shearman, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹⁴⁰*Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., XV (1898), pp. 54-57.

¹⁴¹See Hogan, *Onom. Goed.*, s.v. "etardrium."

to provide documentary support for this control, and therefore, as regards detail, must be treated with extreme caution. On the other hand, the very existence of these genealogies shows that the ancient British church was very largely a family affair, as it was in Ireland, and was under the domination of a few powerful groups, who, whatever their actual ancestry may have been, had achieved such a degree of unified organization as to merit the name "sons of Caw" or "sons of Bracan." It was one of these groups—the one which controlled the church in the territory now known as Brecknock—that came to Ireland and began to make settlements along the southeast coast.

It is further worthy of note that the epithet Pilgrim (*ailithir*) is applied to some of the sons of Bracan in Ireland.¹⁴² While it was not necessary for a monk to go out of his own country to win this epithet, it is applied rather more commonly to British clerics than to others in Ireland.¹⁴³

In concluding our survey of the traditions concerning the "sons of Bracan" we should observe that the cults of these saints have been carried from the settlements along the coast to places further inland; and if Gallen of the Britons is a fair example we must conclude that they carried their British identity with them.

6. *British Influence of Uncertain Provenience*

So far we have dealt with Irish monasteries connected in ecclesiastical tradition with some definite locality in Britain. There are other important Irish monastic centers whose traditions show unmistakable evidence of British influence, but do not give any indication of the exact channel through which that influence came.

¹⁴²Coeman, Dubhain, Mochonoc, Cairpre.

¹⁴³Note especially Molué, the British founder of Imliuch Sescainn, Matoc brother of Sanctan, the *Britones peregrini* mentioned CS, col. 229, and Colman, founder of Clonkeen.

DURROW (Dermagh) was the chief church of Columba in Ireland. In the ninth century when it was first attacked by the Vikings, it was known as "Durrow of the Britons."¹⁴⁴

LYNALLY (Land Elo), about four miles south of Durrow, preserves a tradition of the presence of British clerics in the life of the patron, Colman Elo. One of the Britons living there became angered with Colman and would have killed him but for the saint's use of his miraculous powers.¹⁴⁵

KELLS (Cenanna). The commentaries on the *Féilire* for October 26 mention a "house of the Britons" at Kells.¹⁴⁶

SLAINE. The annals in recording the death of Colman, son of Faelan, abbot of Slaine, call him "Colman of the Britons."¹⁴⁷

TULACH BENNAIN. Traces of British influence at another foundation near Kells are to be found in a tradition concerning Fintan of Duleng. When he came to Tulach Bennain to take up his residence there, he found the place occupied by seven British pilgrims, who expelled him.¹⁴⁸

GLENDALOUGH. One of the lives of Coemgen, patron of Glendalough, comes to us from the hand of a British biographer, Selyf (Solomon).¹⁴⁹ The heading of this life states that the writer is a pupil of Coemgen, and a subsequent passage tells us that he was in danger in "the eastern land" when his tutor came to his rescue.¹⁵⁰ The "eastern land" here as elsewhere in Irish hagiographical tradition

¹⁴⁴*AU*, A.D. 835.

¹⁴⁵*VSH*, I, p. 264.

¹⁴⁶*Fél.*, p. 228.

¹⁴⁷*AU*, A.D. 750.

¹⁴⁸*CS*, col. 229. This place has not been definitely located by topographers, but Hogan (*Onom. Goed.*, s.v. "tulach bennian") thinks it is near Dulane in Meath. Note the recurrence of the theme of the churlish Briton who refuses to be dislodged in the story of Daniel, the British monk of Hare Island, *LismSS*, lines 4344 ff.

¹⁴⁹*BNE*, I, p. 131. Selyf is a well-established Welsh name. It is borne by several Welsh princes as well as by a Welsh cantrev.

¹⁵⁰*BNE*, I, p. 145.

appears to mean Britain. Hence the passage implies a tradition that Coemgen had visited Britain and brought back a pupil with him. At Coemgen's death the sacrament was administered by Mochorog the Briton, whose cell was in the eastern part of Coemgen's domain.¹⁵¹ This, of course, refers to Mogoroc the "son of Bracan," who is supposed to have founded a church at Delgany.¹⁵² The climax of Glendalough's claims to British contact is the assertion in the Irish life of Coemgen that many kings, both of Ireland and Britain, chose to be buried in the cemetery at Glendalough "for the love of God and Coemgen."¹⁵³

TAGHMON. In the life of Fintan (Munnu) of Tech Munnu (Taghmon) there is a passing reference to a solitary Briton who lived near Fintan.¹⁵⁴ The place cannot be definitely located, for the name is not given.

LEAMOKEAVOGUE (Liath Mochoemog). Mochoemog, traditional founder of the church of modern Leighmore in Borris, Co. Tipperary, seems indirectly to have been assigned British descent. Three of his genealogies run as follows:

I ¹⁵⁵	II ¹⁵⁶	III ¹⁵⁷
1. Mochoemoc		1. Mochaomoc
2. Beoan	1. Beoan	2. Beoan
3. Mellan		3. Mellan
4. Nesson	2. Nesson	4. Nesson
5. Erc	3. Erc	5. Erc
6. Caireda	4. Aedh	6. Cunnedda

Here we observe that I and III agree in making Mochoemog's immediate ancestors Beoan, Mellan, and Nesson. II differs from these two in omitting Mellan. Keeping this in mind for future reference we may proceed to the next document. In the commentaries on the *Félire*

¹⁵¹VSH, I, 257.

¹⁵²See above, p. 34.

¹⁵³BNE, I, p. 128.

¹⁵⁴VSH, II, p. 237.

¹⁵⁵Fél. p. 96 (from MS Rowl. B. 512)

¹⁵⁶LL, p. 352a.

¹⁵⁷VSH, II, p. 164, note 1 (from Marsh V. 3. 4).

of Oengus as preserved in *MS Laud 610* is the following passage: *Nassan, Beoan, Mellan .i. a Tamlachtu a farrud Locha Bricrenn .i. Nassan 7 Beoan 7 Mellan .i. tres sancti do Bretnaib in una eclesia in Huaib Echach Ulad iuxta Tamlachtan mic Ua Caill ilLoch Bricrenn.*¹⁵⁸ Since these three persons are named as direct ancestors of Mochoemog, we assume that the compiler of the genealogy intended it to be understood that he was of British descent. There is one question, however, that must be answered before this assumption is fully accepted. Were these men known as Britons before the genealogy was compiled? There is good reason to believe that these three names were first grouped together in the documents which proclaim them Britons. The names Nassan, Beoan, and Mellan, as we have seen, appear in the commentaries as they are preserved in *Laud 610*. The version according to *Rawlinson B. 512* and *Rawlinson B. 505* give the first name as *Nasad* or *Nassad*.¹⁵⁹ So also does the basic passage in the main body of the *Félire*, upon which the commentaries are based. *Nasad*, therefore, seems to have the better authority. Now, *Nasad* is not at all common as a proper name, but it is pretty well known as a common noun meaning festival. This fact immediately arouses our suspicion that the original entry must have indicated the feast of Beoan and Mellan, and that *Nasad* as a proper name is a mistake. As we turn back to the text of the *Félire* we observe that Stokes has chosen the following reading: *Nassad, Beóán, Mellan*.¹⁶⁰ This, of course, could not mean, "The festival of Beoan and Mellan," for all the words are in the nominative case. The variant readings, however, reveal the fact that the *Leabhar Breac* and several other important manuscripts read *Beóáin* and *Mellain*, both genitive. *The Martyrology of Tallaght* supports this reading with "*Nasad Beoain Mellain* (the festival of Beoan and Mellan)." ¹⁶¹ The misunderstanding

¹⁵⁸*Fél.*, p. 226.

¹⁵⁹*Fél.*, pp. 206, 208.

¹⁶⁰*Fél.*, p. 218. Cf. *Leabhar Breac* (facs.), p. 98.

¹⁶¹*LL*, p. 364f.

of *Nasad* as a proper name is due, no doubt, to the fact that Beoan was well known to ecclesiastical tradition as the son of Nessen,¹⁶² and that the common noun *nasad*, which resembled *Nessen* slightly, stood next to Beoan in the text.

In the light of the foregoing facts we should reconstruct the growth of the tradition somewhat as follows:

1. The tradition that Beoan was son of Nessen. This tradition is embodied in the *Félire* entry (see above, note 162) and in the *LL* genealogy (see above, p. 40, No. II).

2. Beoan and Mellan are brought together in the main text of the *Félire*, probably because of some traditional similarity between them.

3. A commentator mistakes the word *nasad* for a proper name, assumes that there are three saints in this entry, and brands them all as Britons. This process must have taken place at least as early as the first part of the twelfth century, for the statement about the Britons seems to form an integral part of the text in *LL*.

4. A hagiologist tries to compile a genealogy of Mochoemog. He uses as a basis some genealogy analogous to No. II, but corrects it by reference to the list of "three British saints" which appears in the *Félire*.

Regardless of the accuracy of the foregoing suggestion regarding the growth of the tradition, it remains sufficiently clear that to the writer of the commentary on the *Félire* the Beoan-Mellan-Nessen combination represented a British group. This impression has a good basis in hagiographical tradition. Beóán mac Nessáin was patron of a church in Hy Faeláin,¹⁶³ and Nesa,¹⁶⁴ mother of Mochoemog, was a daugh-

¹⁶²*Fél.*, p. 175, "*Féil Beóáin maicc Nessáin.*"

¹⁶³The church of Fid Cuillind (see *Fél.*, p. 184; *LL*, p. 361b), which, according to Hogan (*Onom. Goed.*), may be one of two places: (1) Feighcullen parish, partly in the barony of Offaly and partly in the barony of Connel, near the Hill of Allen, or (2) Fith Colin in the diocese of Kildare.

¹⁶⁴Note the kinship of this name with that of Mochoemog's great-grandfather, Nessen.

ter of Faeláin, king of the Desi.¹⁶⁵ One branch of the Desi, as we have already seen, had settled in South Britain at a very early date,¹⁶⁶ and quite naturally kept up their relations with the mother country.

To recapitulate, Mochoemog is regarded in hagiographical tradition as the descendant of a line of ancestors who were supposed to be British, and he is held, furthermore, to have come from a part of Ireland inhabited by people who had sent a colony to Britain. If Nesson, the great-grandfather of Mochoemog, is the same Nesson who is known as the pupil and successor of Bairre of Cork, we have here another link with South Britain.¹⁶⁷

RAHEN. We have already noticed the relations between Llancarvan and Lismore as revealed by the traditions of connection between Cadoc of Llancarvan and Mochuda of Lismore. There is likewise a tradition of British clerics at Mochuda's earlier foundation, Rahen, near Tullamore in King's Co. The general statement of this tradition appears in two statements in the life of Mochuda. The first one is the statement that monks from various parts, not only of Ireland, but also of Britain, came to Rahen to take up their residence under the rule of Mochuda.¹⁶⁸ The second is a story of how two British clerics tried to drown Mochuda and how, in consequence of their being caught in the act, British clerics were to be held in contempt at Rahen from that day forward.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵*VSH*, II, 164, note 1.

¹⁶⁶*Studies in English*, No. 6, pp. 14-20.

¹⁶⁷See the traditional connection between Cork and St. David's, above, p. 14. It is also worthy of note that Mochoemog is named along with Maedoc, Comgall, and the Welsh David as one of those to whom Molua of Clonfertmulloe was confessor (*LL*, p. 361, lower margin).

¹⁶⁸*VSH*, I, 177-178.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, I, 187-188. There is a touch of personal feeling in this passage, which, taken with others of the same tone, seems to indicate that at the time when the saints' lives were being written the relations between Irish and British clerics in Ireland were not always smooth. See the incidents described above, p. 27 f. (concerning Brigit), 13, 30 (concerning Colman Elo and Fintan); also *LismSS*, lines 4344 ff. (concerning Ciaran).

Another link between Rahen and South Britain is the legend of Constantine. In the *Félire of Oengus* for March 11 is the simple entry, "King Constantine of Rahen." In the *Félire of Gorman* he is "Constantine the Briton." In the basic texts of these martyrologies there is no further indication of who he was, or of where he came from. The commentaries on the *Félire*, however, yield more information. He was abbot of Rahen after the death of Mochuda; he was son of Fergus; and he gave up his kingdom to come on a pilgrimage to Rahen.¹⁷⁰ To these main facts, the commentator adds a number of mad folk-tales that offer us no particular assistance in identifying the royal monk. These few facts, however, provide us with a point of departure in the process of identifying him. Constantine, son of Fergus, king of North Britain, flourished about 800 A.D., a date which, even allowing for the extreme elasticity of Irish hagiographical chronology, is manifestly too late. It seems certain, therefore, that the Irish writer must have confused him with some other Constantine. When we turn to the traditions of South Britain we find the explanation. First, "Constantinus of Damnonia [roughly, modern Devon]" appears in the *De excidio* of Gildas as one of the bad kings of Britain. Second, the *Annales Cambriae*¹⁷¹ (under the year 589) record the "conversion" of Constantine. "Conversion," be it noted is a term which may apply either to the acceptance of the Christian faith or to the adoption of monastic life. Out of these two facts plus the confusion between Emperor Constantine and his son, Constans, the monk, subsequent writers built up the legend of the British king Constantine who gave up his kingdom and entered a monastery.¹⁷² The *rapprochement* of this legend with Irish tradition seems to have been effected through the version which appears in the *Vita David*. Here we find

¹⁷⁰*Fél.*, p. 92; see a similar account in a tract dealing with the expulsion of Mochuda from Rahen, *BNE*, I, 300.

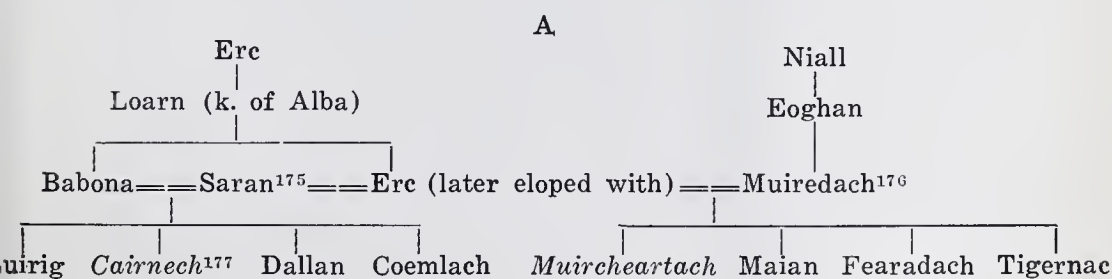
¹⁷¹*Y Cymmrodor*, IX (1888), p. 156.

¹⁷²See the interesting note by Herbert in *The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, edited by J. H. Todd, Dublin Archaeological Society, 1848, pp. 186-187, note s.

that Constantine, under the persuasion of David, gave up his kingdom and became a monk at Menevia. He stayed there for a short time and then went away to a monastery in a distant country.¹⁷³ To the Irish cleric who saw this statement, the country referred to could be none other than Ireland, and if this cleric happened to live at Rahen, the monastery could be none but Rahen. Adopting the story without any knowledge of its origin and growth, it is not surprising that the Irish cleric who brought it from Britain should confuse Constantine of South Britain with Constantine mac Fergusa of North Britain.

Constantine entered the Irish tradition also through secular channels. In our examination of the traditions concerning the flight of Irish princes to Britain we saw that one of the most famous refugees was Muircheartach mac Erca.¹⁷⁴ The Irish redactor of the *Historia Britonum* makes Muircheartach mac Erca father of Gaedéal Fict, and of Constantine of Cornwall.

The strange tangle of family relationships with which the Irish writer surrounds the origin of Constantine illustrates the mingling of Irish-British traditions, not only regarding Constantine, but also of another important Irish ecclesiastical personage. The following diagrams may prove helpful:



¹⁷³*Ed. cit.*, p. 15.

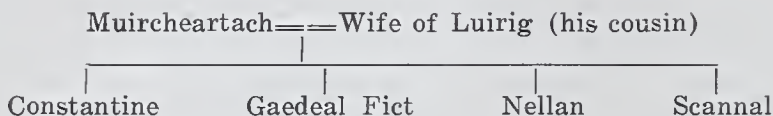
¹⁷⁴*Studies in English*, No. 6, pp. 30 ff.

¹⁷⁵King of Britain.

¹⁷⁶King of Ireland.

¹⁷⁷This relationship is also stated in *LL*, p. 372a.

B



The story in which these relationships appears is, as we have already noticed, a strange concoction. It seems to be based ultimately on more or less fundamental traditions, but it is so deformed and distorted as to be of little value historically. Nevertheless it has a certain interest for us in that it preserves the tradition of a royal Constantine. We find, moreover, a reflection of the tradition of the British origin of Cairnech, patron of Dulane in Meath. Cairnech appears in another story of Muircheartach mac Erca, the scene of which is laid in Ireland.¹⁷⁸ Here Cairnech appears merely as an ecclesiastic of the Hy Neill, and there is no reference to his British origin. There seems to have been a definite element of British influence in the Irish traditions about Cairnech, however, for in the commentaries on the *Félire* he is said to be of the Cornish Britons.¹⁷⁹ It is quite clear, moreover, that the writer of the twelfth-century British *Vita Carantoci*¹⁸⁰ had the Irish Cairnech in mind, for he tells of his hero's going to Ireland, of his being called Carnech by the Irish, and of his death and burial in Ireland. There is nothing in this *Vita* to connect Cairnech with Cornwall. He seems to have come from Cardigan originally and to have carried on most of his work there. Apparently no Irish life of Cairnech has been preserved, and the *Vita Carantoci* exhibits no visible influence of such a document. It seems fairly certain, however, that Cairnech of Dulane, who was regarded by the Irish commentators as a Briton, is the same as the Carantocus of the British life, and the latter is the same as the

¹⁷⁸"The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca," ed. by Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, XXIII (1902), 395-437.

¹⁷⁹*Fél.*, p. 132. "Cairnig .i. a Tuilen. Cairnech do Bretnaib Corrn d6."

¹⁸⁰*CBSS*, pp. 97-101.

famous Cairnech that was associated in Irish tradition with Patrick.

KILLEIGH (Cill Achad Droma Fota). The feeling of irritation toward British clerics revealed by the writer of the life of Mochuda¹⁸¹ may have arisen from his recollection of a tradition to the effect that the expulsion of that saint from Rahen was carried out by the clerics of a church dependent upon Killeigh,¹⁸² a monastery which seems to have been frequented by British ecclesiastics. The principal evidence for the British tradition at Killeigh is a passage in the *Book of Leinster* which commemorates "a hundred and fifty holy bishops and twelve pilgrims with Sinchell younger the priest and with Sinchell elder bishop and twelve bishops who inhabited Killeigh in Hy Falge." A marginal note states, "These are the names of the bishops of Killeigh," and then the list is given as follows: "Budoci (tres), Conoci (tres), Morgini (tres), Uedgoni (vi), Beuani (vi), Bibi (vi), Glomali (ix), Ercocini (ix), Grucinni (ix), Uennoci (xii), Contumani (xii), Anoci (xii). Senchilli, Britanni ó Britania; Cerrui (ab Armenia)." Here the Sinchells are proclaimed British; but the other persons are also interesting. It is hardly necessary to say that they bear names which are not usual in Middle Irish nomenclature. On the other hand, some of them seem to be definitely British. Budoc is the name of a well-known Cornish saint; Conoc we have already met as Mochonoc, one of the sons of Bracan revered at "Gallen of the Britons," which is not far from Killeigh; Beoan is called a Briton in the Martyrology of Tallaght (October 26); Vennoc is the name of a Cornish saint for whom is named the parish of St. Winnow and the church of St. Winnocus near the mouth of the River Fowey. These twelve must have been the "twelve pilgrims" referred to. We have already observed the Irish tendency to label British clerics "pilgrims."

¹⁸¹See above, p. 43.

¹⁸²*BNE*, I, 304.

HARE ISLAND (in Lough Ree). In the life of Ciaran, patron of Clonmacnoise, there is a British tradition attached to a neighboring island in Lough Ree. When Ciaran tried to establish a church there he was opposed by Daniel, a British monk, who apparently felt that he had a prior right to the island.¹⁸³

GAEL. Another isolated, but no less important, example of the residence of British monks in Ireland is provided by an incident in the life of Mochua of Balla. Mochua, when he was leaving Ulster, stopped at Gael, a monastery in Fir Rois (in Ulster), where he found a British bishop named Gabrin. He surrendered his church to Mochua because they had been foster-brothers.¹⁸⁴ We should probably interpret this incident as an attempt to explain the claims of Balla to a dependency which bore a tradition of contact with Britain.

DRONG FAECHNIG, a place which has not yet been identified, but which seems to have been near Clonard, is assigned a British patron by the writer of the life of Colman mac Luachan. When King Domhnall mac Murchad granted this place to Colman, it was left in charge of one of Colman's followers, Baetan the Briton.¹⁸⁵ The name occurs elsewhere in connection with the British tradition in Ireland. For example, Báithin, son of Moenan, was revered at Land Luachar and Land Leri. Moenan is a name with British associations, as we have seen in our consideration of Brendan of Clonfert.¹⁸⁶ Land Leri, moreover, is one of the places at which there is preserved a tradition of the presence of British clerics.¹⁸⁷ As for Land Luachar, it is related in

¹⁸³VSH, I, 210 and note 2.

¹⁸⁴LismSS, lines 4670 ff. Gabrin is commemorated in Irish churches on June 25 (*Mart. Don*). It may be worth recalling that Finnian of Clonard was supposed to have founded Llancarvan in honor of a companion named Gabran. On this and on the place of this name in Irish hagiographical tradition, see above, p. 20.

¹⁸⁵See the life edited by K. Meyer, *Proc. R.I.A., Todd Lecture Series*, XVII (1911), par. 79-80.

¹⁸⁶See above, p. 26.

¹⁸⁷See above, p. 35.

the *Vita Maedoc* that the patron, Mochua, was selected to be Maedoc's successor as abbot of Ferns.¹⁸⁸ This statement seems clearly to reflect an impression of close relationship between the two monasteries—a relationship which would afford ample opportunity for the strong British influence at Ferns to be communicated to Land Luachar. The name appears again in connection with Cluan Andobair,¹⁸⁹ which Stokes places at Killeigh, in Kings Co.,¹⁹⁰ another stronghold of British influence.¹⁹¹

7. *British-Irish Relations in the Patrick Tradition*

The actual historical activities of Patrick are little known and are of no great consequence to the establishment of Irish-British literary channels during the later period.¹⁹² On the other hand, the prominence given to Patrick's British associations by later tradition is clear indication that Irish clerics were conscious of a strong British influence at certain institutions which claimed Patrick or followers of Patrick as founders.

CLONKEEN (Cluan Cain). In the notes added by Ferdomnach to Tirechan's commentaries on the life of Patrick there is mentioned a Colman of the Britons, who bought a horse from a certain nun, Cummen. Another passage states that Colman offered to Patrick his church of Cluan Cain,¹⁹³ and in the *Tripartite Life* Patrick is made to prophesy that Cluan Cain will be founded by a pilgrim of the Britons.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸VSH, II, 154.

¹⁸⁹*Fél.*, p. 251 (Dec. 13), and commentary, p. 258.

¹⁹⁰*Fél.*, (Index of Places), p. 378.

¹⁹¹See above, p. 47.

¹⁹²See above, pp. 5–6.

¹⁹³*The Book of Armagh*, pp. 33, 34. These notes were written in the eighth century (see the discussion of the date in Gwynn's introduction, p. lxx).

¹⁹⁴Pp. 226–227. Note again the use of the epithet "pilgrim" as applied to a British cleric in Ireland. Cf. the "sons of Bracan" and others, above, p. 38.

These three statements obviously refer to the same person, and demonstrate clearly that in the eighth and ninth centuries Cluan Cain was regarded as a church founded by Britons.

KILLMOR. Mochta, to whom is attributed the founding of Killmore, a parish church three miles east of Armagh,^{194a} appears in the life of Columba¹⁹⁵ and in the *Tripartite Life*¹⁹⁶ as a Briton converted by Patrick. His own life states that he was born in Britain,¹⁹⁷ educated by the druid Hoan and brought by him to Ireland, where he built the church of Killmor "in Metheorum nemoribus."¹⁹⁸ We may see clearly enough here that Mochta is not a mere hanger-on of Patrick tradition. The writer of the life was using materials which showed that Mochta was a Briton who came to Ireland on his own account.¹⁹⁹

TRIM (Ath Truim). Although we dare not accept as real persons the host of legendary characters who have been presented to us as relatives and disciples of Patrick by succeeding generations of hagiographers, it is difficult to deny the genuineness of the British symptoms in the anecdote of Loman. In the commentaries of Tirechan there is a story that when Patrick arrived at the mouth of the Boyne he left his boat in charge of Loman and went on inland. Loman, with the boat, proceeded up the Boyne to Ath Truim. There he made the acquaintance of Fortchernn, son of King Feidhlimidh, and converted him. Fortchernn's mother came out looking for her son, and when she found that Loman was British she was overjoyed, because she was a Briton also. She went back and told

^{194a}See Hogan, *Onom. Goed.*, s.v. "cell more idan."

¹⁹⁵*The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy; written by Adamnan*, ed. William Reeves, Dublin (Irish Archæological and Celtic Society), 1857, p. 6.

¹⁹⁶Pp. 226-228.

¹⁹⁷*CS*, col. 903.

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, col. 905.

¹⁹⁹See the entry in *AU*, A.D. 534 and 536. On his identification with the historical Bacharius, see M. H. MacInerny, in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th Ser., XXI (1923), 468 ff., 618 ff.; XXII (1923), 158 ff., 573 ff.

her husband, and he, likewise, was delighted, since his mother Scoth Noe was a British princess. He welcomed Loman, and greeted him in the British tongue.²⁰⁰ Fortchernn, who later became a prominent figure in the Irish church, must have been well known to Irish hagiographers for his British connections. It is therefore especially significant that the writer of the life of Finnian of Clonard should have made him fosterer of Finnian, patron of Clonard, a place distinguished for its relations with Britain.²⁰¹

The churches assigned to Rioc, son of Patrick's sister, Lupait²⁰² are hardly to be regarded as points of British contact merely because Rioc is supposed to have been a Briton. The tradition of Rioc shows no interest in British tradition beyond the connection with Patrick.

The story in the *Tripartite Life*, told of Malach the Briton, a companion of Patrick for whom no relationship is claimed, seems to rest on a surer basis. Patrick was about to resuscitate the son of Aillil. He requested one of his company, Malach the Briton, to assist him. The Briton refused, for it seemed to him that the act was against the will of God. Patrick turned upon him and denounced him, saying that his "house" would be the dwelling-place of only nine men and that it would never have more than enough property to support two cows.²⁰³ It is clear that this story is invented to explain the impoverished state of some monastery known to the author of the life. Colgan²⁰⁴ suggests that the church referred to may be one of two townlands called Kilmaloo in the Barony of Decies-within-Drum. Shearman, however, calls attention to places which seem to preserve the name more clearly.²⁰⁵ One is a ford near Kilkenny

²⁰⁰*Book of Armagh*, ed. Gwynn, pp. 31-32.

²⁰¹CS, coll. 189-190.

²⁰²LL, 372a (as Darioc, son of Darerca, another sister); see also the tradition of Rioc of Inisboffin (*ibid.*, 373b).

²⁰³*Tripartite Life*, p. 198. It may be worth remembering that a British Maelog is again brought into contact with Irish monks in the British Latin life of Cybi. See above, p. 30.

²⁰⁴AASSHib., pp. 156, 272.

²⁰⁵*Loca Patriciana*, p. 154.

called Aghmalog;²⁰⁶ another is a neglected church site near Kilkenny which formerly was called Kilmalog;²⁰⁷ and the third is Kilmalogue in Co. Carlow.²⁰⁸

8. Summary

Although the evidence so far examined reveals a very large number of single instances of Irish-British inter-monastic communication, we have as yet seen nothing that would serve as a general statement of the movement. Such a statement, however, does exist. In an eighth-century canon, once ascribed to the Synod of Patrick, there appears the following passage: *Clericus qui de Britanis ad nos venit sine epistola, etsi habitat in plebe, non licitum ministrare.*²⁰⁹

If British clerics were so common in Ireland in the eighth century that official notice had to be taken of them in church councils, it is small wonder that by the eleventh we have what amounts almost to community of ecclesiastical tradition between Britain and Ireland.

A review of the facts presented reveals conclusively the fact that contact between Irish and British clerics from 750 to 1150 was close and continuous. The evidence, like any other collection of evidence, is not all of the same value. Narratives in saints' lives telling of the legendary journeys of Irish saints to Britain, though indicative of the writer's desire to show the friendly relations between his patron and a British saint, are not as conclusive proof of international contact as, for example, the plain statement in the annals that a British bishop died at Kildare. But the general effect is undeniable. For contact between British

²⁰⁶It crosses a stream joining the Nore at Purcell's Inch.

²⁰⁷Northeast of the Dublin road. It is now called Leggetsrath, but it appears in the Patent Rolls (1572) as Kilmalog.

²⁰⁸This appears on Mercator's map as Kilmoppalogue.

²⁰⁹Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, II, 330. For the date, see *ibid.*, 331, note 2.

and Irish clerics during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries we have the testimony of early annals, of martyrologies, of the *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, and other contemporary documents. For the eleventh and twelfth have a great mass of hagiographical material, which, though not trustworthy as a record of the events of the sixth and seventh centuries—the period with which it ostensibly deals—is still exceedingly valuable for the light it throws upon the traditions, sentiments, and beliefs of the time in which it was prepared.

B. Inter-Relations between Irish Monasteries in Communication with Britain

We have seen that there were more than fifty monastic foundations in Ireland which were associated in ecclesiastical tradition with Britain or with Britons. Being conscious of a common tradition, it is only natural that the various foundations connected with Britain should preserve rather close relations with each other. An examination of the evidence reveals a network of intermonastic relations which served to bind together the institutions which claimed connection with Britain and to conserve consciousness of British affiliations. We should hardly feel justified in asserting that inter-relations between institutions exhibiting British influence is, in every instance, due to consciousness of British contact, but the association between the members of this circle of monasteries is too close to be fortuitous.

1. *Ferns*.—Ferns, which through the traditions of its founder was closely connected with St. David's, was also associated with monasteries in Ireland which bore British traditions. Maedoc, after he returned to Ireland, wanted to go back again to Wales to ask David whom he should have for father confessor. He was dissuaded by an angel, who informed him that he should have Molua of Clonfertmulloe as confessor.²¹⁰ Such a story can hardly be interpreted as anything but an attempt to furnish a background for the

²¹⁰VSH, II, p. 219. See also another version, *ibid.*, p. 148.

relations between Clonfertmulloe and Ferns. Another side of this interesting three-cornered relationship is revealed in the statement in the commentaries on the *Félire* that Molua of Clonfertmulloe was confessor to David.²¹¹

It may have been the British connections of Killeigh that led the erenagh²¹² of Ferns, Ugaire Ua Laidhgnen, to go there on his last pilgrimage in 1085.²¹³

The commentaries on the *Félire* connect Ferns and Kildare in an anecdote which tells of the visit paid to Brigit of Kildare by her foster-son, who was a monk of Ferns.²¹⁴ This incident by itself is useful only to illustrate the writer's general impression of friendly relations between Ferns and Kildare. More direct implication of these relations is to be seen in the record of the death of Lachtnan mac Mochtigern, bishop of Kildare and superior of Ferns (*AU*, 874). It is especially interesting to observe that he must have been acquainted with Aedgen, the British bishop of Kildare, who died A.D. 863. The establishment of literary channels between Ferns, Kildare, and Britain then follows as a matter of course.

About fifty years later Ferns was on intimate terms with Tallaght, for the annals state (*Four Masters*, 937) that Laidgene was abbot of both. It is difficult to tell from such entries whether the abbot mentioned ruled both monasteries at once, or was transferred from one to the other. There is nothing inherently improbable in either assumption, and both are of equal force for the establishment of literary channels.

The writer of the life of Colman Elo of Lynally seems to be interested in furnishing an historical background for some sort of relations between his monastery and Ferns, for he has his hero come to the assistance of Maedoc of

²¹¹See above, note 14.

²¹²The secular steward of the monastic domains.

²¹³See the notice of his death, *Four Masters*, *sub anno*.

²¹⁴*Fél.*, p. 64.

Ferns when he is attempting to resuscitate King Brandubh.²¹⁵

2. *Kildare*.—Kildare, as we have seen, was connected with Ferns. It was also connected with Clonard. The implications of the legendary visit of Finnian, patron of Clonard, to Brigit of Kildare²¹⁶ are fully borne out by the fact that in 748 Dodimoc was abbot of both Clonard and Kildare.²¹⁷ Like Ferns, Kildare was also related to Killeigh, for we find in the annals the statement that Robartach mac na cerda was bishop of Kildare and abbot of Killeigh.²¹⁸ The persistence of this relationship down to the eleventh century is revealed by the statement in the annals that Find mac Gussain, bishop of Kildare, died at Killeigh in 1085.²¹⁹

3. *Glendalough*.—The relations between Glendalough and Tallaght are revealed by the statement in the annals that a certain Daniel (died 868, see *AU*, 867) was abbot of both monasteries. Some sort of relations between Clonard and Glendalough are no doubt to be inferred from the fact that Comghall, a learned man of Clonard, chose Glendalough as the place in which to end his days.²²⁰ The connections of Glendalough with Killeigh are clearly established by the fact that there was a church at Glendalough called the "church of the two Sinchells."²²¹

4. *Clonfertmulloe*.—The record of Clonfertmulloe's connections with other Irish monasteries of the British circle survives principally in hagiographical tradition. We have already noticed how the patron Molua was connected with Maedoc of Ferns.²²² The verse in the commentaries on the *Féilire* which makes this statement says that he was confessor also to Comgall of Bangor. This looks as if the

²¹⁵*CS*, col. 438.

²¹⁶*LismSS*, lines 2613–2616.

²¹⁷*AU*, under the year 747.

²¹⁸*AU*, 874.

²¹⁹*Four Masters*, *sub anno*.

²²⁰*Four Masters*, 1122.

²²¹See the record of its burning, *AU*, 1163. The Sinchells were the patrons of Killeigh.

²²²See above, p. 53.

compiler had misunderstood the tradition. The lives of both Comgall and Molua agree in making Molua a pupil of Comgall.²²³ The same verse includes Mochoemog, a saint whose British connections have already been mentioned.²²⁴

5. *Killeigh*.—Killeigh was connected not only with Glendalough, Ferns, and Kildare, but with Emly. A story is told in the life of Ailbe that when Ailbe was living at Cluain Damh (probably Clane, near the River Liffey in Kildare) Sinchell came to him and asked him for a place of residence. Ailbe and his monks immediately departed, leaving everything for Sinchell.²²⁵ This tale is almost certainly intended to explain the ceding of certain properties to Killeigh by Emly. A hagiographical tradition of doubtful value connects Killeigh with Aghaboe. Cainnich, patron of Aghaboe is supposed to have visited Killeigh and resuscitated the head of the monastery.²²⁶

6. *Tallaght*.—Tallaght, in addition to the relations already mentioned, had some connection with Lismore and Ardmore. In a ninth-century tract now known as *The Monastery of Tallaght*, and composed at that monastery, Suadal mac Testa of Ardmore and MacOige of Lismore are cited as authorities²²⁷ for certain views regarding monastic discipline. MacOige became superior of Tallaght and died there in 874.²²⁸

7. *Lismore*.—Lismore in turn was on close terms with Cork. Notices in the annals show that the same man was abbot of all three in 812,²²⁹ 849,²³⁰ and 958.²³¹ Flaind mac Faircellach, who died in 812, was abbot also of Emly.

²²³For further treatment of the connection between Molua and Comgall, see the discussion of the lives in a subsequent chapter.

²²⁴It is worth observing at this point that David, Maedoc, Molua, and Mocheomog are all brought together in this verse. See *LL*, p. 361, margin *infra*.

²²⁵*VSH*, I, 56–57; *CS*, col. 249.

²²⁶*VSH*, I, 164, and note 4.

²²⁷*Proceedings, RIA*, XXIX (1911–1912), p. 142.

²²⁸*AU*.

²²⁹*Annals of Inisfallen*, edited by Charles O'Connor in his *Rerum hibernicarum scriptores veteres*, Buckingham, 1814–1826, II, *sub anno*.

²³⁰*Ibid.*, *sub anno*.

²³¹*Chron. Scot.*, *sub anno*.

Lismore and Iniscathy were also related by having the same abbot in 942.²³² After the period of church reform in Ireland, Lismore seems to have been favored by connections also with the northern churches. In 1123²³³ Oengus O'Gorman, abbot of Bangor, died on a pilgrimage to Lismore, and in 1129²³⁴ Cellach, a famous abbot of Armagh, was, by his own request, transferred to Lismore for burial.

8. *Iniscathy*.—In the later lives of Senan of Iniscathy this saint is brought into connection with Maedoc of Ferns as well as with David of Menevia, and he is said to have made about the same vows of friendship with Maedoc as with David.²³⁵ Iniscathy is grouped with a number of other monasteries of the British tradition in a curious story of the arrival of fifty Roman bishops. These bishops were divided between Senan of Iniscathy, Finnian of Clonard, Brendan of Clonfert, Bairre of Cork, and Ciaran of Clonmacnoise.²³⁶ It is well worth noticing that all but one of these is directly connected with Britain in ecclesiastical tradition.

9. *Clonard*.—Most important and enlightening of all are the connections of Clonard. The persistent and unvarying tradition which makes Clonard the great training school of the early church, must be given consideration. There can be little doubt that the constantly recurring statement in various lives that the patron received his education at Clonard is due, to a certain extent, to the fact that education at Clonard had become a stock hagiographical motif.

²³²*Annals Inisf., sub anno.*

²³³*Four Masters.*

²³⁴*Ibid.*

²³⁵*LismSS*, lines 2044 ff. He set up a church at Eniscorthy, and he and Maedoc made a union. Later Maedoc bequeathed his crozier to Senan, and Senan took the abbacy of Ferns. The assigning of the abbacy of Ferns to Senan is so contrary to all other tradition concerning this establishment that one is inclined to see here a special attempt to formulate a historical background for relations of confraternity between Iniscathy and Ferns, existing at the time of writing.

²³⁶*Ibid.*, lines 2069 ff.

On the other hand, we must recognize the fact that every author had a choice of educational traditions for his hero. There was said to have been an important school at Bangor, conducted by Comgall, who had been an associate of Columba. There was also a strong tradition of a school at Lismore. It is difficult to escape the conclusion, therefore, that a writer who chose Clonard was influenced to a certain degree by his knowledge of a connection between Clonard and his patron's monastery, or by the real reputation of Clonard as an educational center.

The ecclesiastical position of Clonard must have exerted a potent influence upon the writers of saints' lives. As early as 858 Suairleach, abbot of Clonard, took a prominent part in a congress held for the purpose of establishing peace between Ossory, North Ireland, and Munster.²³⁷ As we come on down to the reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and ecclesiastical documents become more numerous and more detailed, it is impossible not to be impressed with the irresistible growth of this famous foundation. Before the era of reform it was a central or "mother" church with a large number of subsidiary institutions connected with it by bonds of common origin and similar practice. The growth of small dioceses within its sphere of influence, which might, in time, have destroyed its power, was checked by the action of the leaders of the reform movement, who suppressed these dioceses, or rather converted them into rural deaneries under the control of the Bishop of Meath, who was also Bishop of Clonard. Clonard itself as a diocese never grew to very large proportions, but through its bishop it gained control of a great territory. Even before the creation of authoritative territorial dioceses it controlled, as a monastic church, half of the churches of Meath, the other half being controlled by Clonmacnoise. By the terms of the Synod of Rathbreasil (1111) Clonard, as seat of the Bishop of Meath, became the predominant church of central Ireland. The channels of communication with Britain

²³⁷AU.

maintained at Clonard are therefore of the utmost importance to the transmission of literary documents and ideas.

The testimony of the annals regarding the succession of learned men who lived within the walls of Clonard is abundant evidence of the importance of this monastery as a center of literary culture. Most of these persons are mere names to us now; their works are either lost or shrouded in anonymity. One, however, whose writings and identity have survived, may serve as an example. The sage Aileran, whose death is recorded in the annals at A.D. 664, is said by the *Leabhar Breac* commentator on the *Félire* to have been a resident of Clonard.²³⁸ He is undoubtedly an historical character,²³⁹ and seems to have enjoyed some reputation as a man of letters, for he is invoked as an authority on the life of Patrick²⁴⁰ and the life of Fechin of Fore.²⁴¹

C. The Literary Importance of Irish Monasteries of the British Circle

Unfortunately we have no complete record of the literary activities of the institutions which we have studied, but as we glance back over the list we observe that many of them were important in Irish literary history.

1. *Clonfert*.—As the traditional home and foundation of Brendan, it is entirely likely that Clonfert was the starting place for the body of material that became famous throughout Western Europe as the Voyage of Brendan. It is significant to observe here that the earliest text in which the story of Brendan appears is an ecclesiastical document,²⁴²

²³⁸*Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Roy. Ir. Acad., Ir. MSS Ser., I (1880), cxxx.

²³⁹*Pat. Lat.*, LXXX, coll. 327 ff.

²⁴⁰*Pat. Lat.*, coll. 327–328.

²⁴¹*VSH*, II, 80.

²⁴²*Brit. Mus., Add. MS 36,736* (tenth century). Flower in his *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1926, II, 301, states that even this very early version is clearly not an original.

and it seems very probable that it was through such channels that the story made its way to Britain and to the continent. We have already noticed the tradition which links Brendan with South Britain, especially with Llancarvan.

2. *Kells*.—Kells is well known for the beautiful book which bears its name. It was also one of the important centers of learning in Ireland. The Britons who lived there²⁴² may have been North Britons who were attracted thither by the tradition of Columba. If so, we may accept their presence there as evidence only of indirect connection with South Britain. At the same time, it is well to remember that at least in the later years of the period under discussion, it was subject to Clonard, a monastery of undoubted South British traditions.

3. *Durrow*.—Another Columbite monastery, Durrow, was known as "Durrow of the Britons." It may owe this descriptive epithet to the presence of North Britons. If this be true, we have no right to assume as yet that its compilations such as the famous *Book of Durrow* were known directly to the South Britons.

4. *Clonfertmulloe*.—Clonfertmulloe as the home of Laidcend, a poet of considerable reputation at home and on the continent.²⁴⁴ Drumsnat, a place affiliated with Clonfertmulloe by the possession of a common patron, produced the *Cin Droma Snechta* (now lost), an eighth-century collection which was used by the compilers of the *Leabhar na hUidhre*.²⁴⁵

5. *Slane*.—Slane is the place at which was compiled the *Yellow Book of Slane* (now lost), another collection used by the compilers of the *Leabhar na hUidhre*.²⁴⁶

6. *Kildare*.—Another important intellectual center in Ireland is Kildare. As far as we now know, this monastery

²⁴²See above, p. 39.

²⁴⁴This writer will be discussed in more detail later.

²⁴⁵R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und König-sage bis zum siebenzehnten Jahrhundert*, Halle, 1921, pp. 15 ff.

²⁴⁶Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 30; see also *LU* (facs.), 43a1. The tale "The Sick-bed of Cuchullain" as given in *LU* is based on the version in the *Yellow Book of Slane*.

produced no great compilations, but Finn, the Bishop of Kildare, was undoubtedly in close touch with the compilation of the *Book of Leinster*, for we have a note written by him to Aedh mac Crimthann, compiler of the book.²⁴⁷

7. *Tallaght*.—During the eighth and ninth centuries, Tallaght seems to have fostered a significant movement in the compilation of ecclesiastical collections. It is probably to this movement that we owe *The Féilire of Oengus*, *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, *The Stowe Missal*, and various tracts relating to the Culdees.²⁴⁸

8. *Timoleague*.—At Timoleague was produced the *Black Book of Molagga* (now lost), an historical compendium which was used by Keating in the sixteenth century.

We have now observed the literary importance of some of the Irish monasteries directly connected with Britain. There are other great Irish literary centers, however, which we have not yet taken into account. Clonmacnoise, Monasterboice, Armagh, Clonenagh, Terryglass,—what did they possess of importance to Irish-British literary relations? And how could Britons have had access to their treasures?

9. *Clonmacnoise*.—Clonmacnoise is most famous probably as home of the *Leabhar na hUidhre*, a great collection of Irish literature made in the late eleventh century. It is also known as one of the great seats of learning in ancient Ireland and as a gathering place for saints and scholars.

The surviving records of Clonmacnoise reveal little of its connection with the Britons. An Irish life of Ciaran, founder of Clonmacnoise, includes a story of a churlish Briton, Daniel, who occupied a cell on Hare Island (in Lough Ree) and was induced by gifts to give it up to Ciaran.²⁴⁹ In the hagiographical section of the *Book of Leinster* there is a curious tradition which shows that at least one of the hagiologists was inclined to connect Ciaran with Britain. This note states that his father was at first

²⁴⁷*LL* (facs.), p. 288, lower margin.

²⁴⁸See the discussion by E. J. Gwynn, *Irish Church Quarterly*, IX (1916), 115–180.

²⁴⁹*LismSS*, lines 4344 ff.

among the Cornish Britons, but left to avoid the heavy taxes, and came to Cinel Conaill in Ireland.²⁵⁰

Although the evidence for direct contact between Clonmacnoise and the British is meager, there can be no doubt of the existence of channels which connected Clonmacnoise ultimately with the Britons. One of these channels was the close connection with Clonard, whose British affiliations are clearly established.

As early as 758 the annals reveal the existence at Clonmacnoise of a Well of St. Finnian.²⁵¹ In 787 Dubhdabhairn, abbot of Clonard, visited the subsidiary *parochia* of Munster, and in 805 Dubhdabhairn, abbot of Clonmacnoise, died.²⁵² In 924 we find the record of the death of Colman mac Aillel, abbot of Clonmacnoise and Clonard, with the added note that it was by him that the stone church was built at Clonmacnoise.²⁵³ In 953 Celechair was abbot of Clonmacnoise and Clonard.²⁵⁴ In 1014 Flaithbertach mac Domnaill, a member of the Hy Neill, was abbot of both monasteries.²⁵⁵ In 1050 Echtigern hua Egrain, abbot of Clonmacnoise, died on his pilgrimage to Clonard.²⁵⁶

Thus we see a series of records extending over a period of three centuries which testify to the intimate relations between Clonmacnoise and Clonard.²⁵⁷ The rapid simulta-

²⁵⁰*LL*, 348h. Text and translation *VSH*, I, li, note 3. This tradition was not generally accepted. The Latin life states that he came from Meath.

²⁵¹*Annals of Tigernach*, the version from *MS Rawlinson 488*, in O'Connor, *Rer. hib. script. vet.*, II, Part 1, 254. Finnian was the founder of Clonard.

²⁵²*Chron. Scot. and An. Tig., sub annis.*

²⁵³*Four Masters*, 924; *AU*, 925.

²⁵⁴*AU*; *An. Inisf.* record it at 938.

²⁵⁵*Chron. Scot.*, 1012; *AU*, 1014.

²⁵⁶*Chron. Scot.*

²⁵⁷It is interesting to note the influence of this association on the hagiographical traditions of the two founders, Ciaran and Finnian. In the *Vita Ciarani* there are three sections (xv-xvii) (*VSH*, I, 205-206) devoted to Ciaran's sojourn at the school of Finnian at Clonard. This incident is mentioned also in the life of Finnian (*CS*, col. 201) but is not developed. Here Ciaran is simply mentioned in the list of pupils. See also the reference to Ciaran as a pupil of Finnian, *Fél.*, pp. 202-204.

neous growth of these two monasteries made it inevitable that their interests should cross at times and that readjustments should be necessary. An interesting example of their business dealings is preserved in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, where we find that Clonmacnoise traded one of her dependencies to Clonard for two others.²⁵⁸ In the course of time it became necessary to have some sort of permanent understanding with regard to the distribution of power in central Ireland. Accordingly the Synod of Usneach contained a provision for the division of Meath into two parts, the churches in the west going to Clonmacnoise and those in the east to Clonard.²⁵⁹

The reports in the annals show, furthermore, that Clonmacnoise must have been on close terms with Aghaboe, another monastery whose patron is traditionally connected with Britain. At 1040 and 1096 are recorded the deaths of men who had been abbots of both places.²⁶⁰ In 1093²⁶¹ we see that Kilmacduagh²⁶² had been brought into this combination. Such an arrangement must have brought Clonmacnoise into contact with the traditions of Ferns, for the life of Maedoc of Ferns credits him with the foundation of Kilmacduagh.²⁶³

Killeigh, a foundation of unquestionable British connections, was one of the churches dependent upon Clonmacnoise.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁸*Trip. Life*, p. 76.

²⁵⁹*Chron. Scot.*, 1107. This should be 1111.

²⁶⁰*Chron. Scot.*

²⁶¹*AU*.

²⁶²Cell meic Duach, southwest of Gort in the barony of Kiltartan in Galway.

²⁶³*BNE*, I, 227; *VSH*, II, 306. Although this is merely mentioned in the Latin lives of Maedoc, it occupies an important place in the later Irish lives. In fact the general extension of the influence of Ferns to foundations in the west, such as Drumlane, Rossinver, and others, is particularly stressed in the life called II in Plummer's collection. Since we find no record before the eleventh century in which the same man appears as abbot of Ferns and of one of these western monasteries, we should naturally conclude that the movement began at a fairly late date.

²⁶⁴*BNE*, I, 304.

Another member of the British circle in Ireland with which Clonmacnoise was connected was Glendalough. In 1030 Flann O'Kelly, abbot of Clonmacnoise, died at Glendalough.²⁶⁵ Among the surviving antiquities of Glendalough, moreover, is a site known as that of St. Ciaran's Church. When O'Donovan examined the antiquities of Glendalough, the church had already disappeared, but various artists had seen and mentioned it at earlier times. It may be the place referred to in the annals at 1167 as Cro Ciaran.²⁶⁶ This relationship enters into the written lives of the two patrons in the form of an anecdote of a visit paid by Coemgen of Glendalough to Ciaran of Clonmacnoise after the death of Ciaran. Ciaran came to life and passed the night in conversation with Coemgen, and at their parting the two saints made vows of eternal friendship between them and theirs.²⁶⁷

Reports of relations between Clonmacnoise and Iniscathy (Scattery Island) have not found their way into the annals. They appear, however, in the lives of both Ciaran and Senan. There was apparently a cassula at Iniscathy which was preserved as a relic of Ciaran, for there are stories in the lives of both patrons to account for the miraculous manner of its arrival.²⁶⁸

Ciaran is represented in his lives as visiting Ende of Aran, and the lives of both saints contain the prophecy of Ende concerning the future greatness of Clonmacnoise.²⁶⁹ We should infer, therefore, that connection between these two monasteries was sufficient to bring about the interchange of hagiographical material.

In examining the opportunities for contact between Clonmacnoise and British clerics we should not forget that

²⁶⁵*Four Masters*.

²⁶⁶See the *Ordnance Letters* (in Roy. Ir. Acad.), "Wicklow," p. 477.

²⁶⁷*Vita Ciarani* in *VSH*, I, 215; *Vita Coemgeni*, *ibid.*, pp. 248-249. The writer of the life of Ciaran says that he found the incident in the life of Coemgen.

²⁶⁸*LismSS*, lines 2388 ff.; *CS*, coll. 750-753; *VSH*, I, 208-209; *LismSS*, lines 4305 ff.

²⁶⁹*VSH*, I, 208; II, 72.

one of the most important facts to be considered is the geographical proximity of a number of monasteries which preserved traditions of relations with Britain. Chief among these were Clonfert, Gallen, and Hare Island. A little farther east, in the middle of King's Co., were Land Elo (Lynally), Rahen, and Killeigh.

10. *Monasterboice*.—At Monasterboice was compiled the *Book of Monasterboice* (now lost), another collection used by the compilers of the *Leabhar na hUidhre*.²⁷⁰ Here also lived Flann of Monasterboice (d. 1056), one of the leaders in the systematization of Irish history²⁷¹ and possibly one of the redactors of the great Irish heroic tale *Táin Bó Cualgne*.²⁷²

Monasterboice, like Clonmacnoise, seems to reveal little evidence of direct connection with Britain, but it would be strange indeed if the community at Clonard did not learn of the work at Monasterboice through Cormac, a contemporary of Flann, who died in Clonard about 1075.²⁷³

11. *Armagh*.—Of the importance of Armagh to the religious and intellectual life of Ireland it is hardly necessary to speak. As the center of the Patrick tradition, it produced a great body of material dealing with the Apostle of Ireland and his companions. *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, the *Hymn of Patrick*, the large and diverse collection of documents incorporated into the *Book of Armagh*—all these, if not actually put together at Armagh, were at least composed under the influence of Armagh clerics. Secular literature was represented by the *Book of Dubhdaleithe* (now lost), from which the heroic tale "The Wooing of Emer" was copied in the fifteenth century.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰LU (facs), 39a17.

²⁷¹See the edition of his chronological poems by Eoin MacNeill, *Archivium Hibernicum*, II (1913), 37 ff.

²⁷²Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

²⁷³*An. Inisf.*, *sub anno*. See also Eogan of Monasterboice, who was abbot of Clonard, *Four Masters*, 833.

²⁷⁴See K. Meyer, *Rev. celt.*, XI (1890), 437. The book is referred to here as the Book of "Dubhdaleithi .i. comarpa Patraic." This is clear indication that he was abbot of Armagh. See also the entry

Armagh maintained friendly relations with Clonard during the ninth and tenth centuries, as we may infer from the fact that the same man was abbot of both in 833;²⁷⁵ that Suairleach of Clonard assisted Fethgna of Armagh at a meeting called in 857 by Maelsechlainn to establish peace;²⁷⁶ and that in 955 Moenach, abbot of Clonard, was a teacher at Clonard.²⁷⁷ One is naturally led to infer that relations with a monastery so strongly affected by British influence as Clonard would lead to direct connection with Britain itself. The inference in this instance is fully substantiated. In a Welsh manuscript of the ninth century there appear two Irish names, Nuadu and Fethgna. The position of the names in the manuscript is such as to indicate that these men were authors or redactors of the material, much of which is now illegible.²⁷⁸ The two best-known Irishmen in that period who bore those names were Nuadu, bishop of Armagh, who died in 811, and Fethgna (d. 874), who was likewise bishop, and who, as we have just seen, was associated with Suairleach of Clonard in the attempt to restore peace in 857. In the light of this document and the known connection between Llancarvan and Clonard and between Clonard and Armagh, one is inclined to connect with this interchange the expedition of six learned men sent to Ireland by Cydivor, abbot of Llanveithin (at Llancarvan) in 883.²⁷⁹ And certainly it gives us the motive which prompted Caradoc of Llancarvan in his *Vita Gildae* to assert that Gildas, when in Ireland, taught at Armagh.²⁸⁰

12. *Clonenagh*.—At Clonenagh was compiled a set of annals known as the *Annals of Clonenagh*. These annals

of his death, *AU*, 1064. The book is referred to in the annals cited at 962, 1003, and 1020.

²⁷⁵*Four Masters*.

²⁷⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷⁷*AU*. Later, in 1055 (*AU*) the rising power of Clonard clashed with that of Armagh so strongly as to produce actual warfare.

²⁷⁸For a full description of the material, see W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, II, 311 ff.

²⁷⁹*Gwentian Brut*, pp. 16–17.

²⁸⁰*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant., Chron. Min.*, III, 108.

were known and used by Keating in the sixteenth century, but they are no longer extant. We may gain some idea of them, however, from an examination of another set known as *Three Fragments*,²⁸¹ which, it appears, is indirectly derived from them.²⁸² These annals contain a number of very full entries which include heroic material of considerable literary interest.

The channels which would be likely to make the Clonenagh material accessible to Britons are best considered together with those of Terryglass.

14. *Terryglass*.—A little after the middle of the twelfth century Aed mac Crimthann compiled at Terryglass the celebrated *Book of Leinster*. As a compendium of heroic and historical material this book is hardly less famous than the *Leabhar na hUidhre*.

The relations between Terryglass and monasteries with British connections are close enough to allow of our assuming that Britons could have had access to the material assembled for the compilation of the *Book of Leinster*. Clonfert and Terryglass were sharing the same vice-abbot in 884^{282a} and the same abbot in 896.²⁸³

The connection with Clonard is attested by the not unusual statement in the life of Finnian that Columb mac Crimthann, patron of Terryglass, was one of Finnian's pupils. This claim, however, is somewhat different from most in that it is accompanied by Finnian's prophecy that he will receive the last sacrament from Columb.²⁸⁴ This would make it appear that the writer, presumably a monk of Clonard, wished to pay a special honor to Terryglass.

²⁸¹*Three Fragments of Irish Annals copied from the Sources by Dubhaltach MacFirbisigh*, ed. and transl. by John O'Donovan, Dublin, 1860.

²⁸²See the remarks of Robin Flower in his *Catalogue of Irish MSS*, II, 284–285.

^{282a}AU.

²⁸³*An. Inisf.*, A.D. 881. These annals are about fifteen years behind during this period.

²⁸⁴*LismSS*, lines 2646 ff.; see also the life of Columb, *CS*, coll. 445 ff.

A certain community of tradition with Glendalough seems to be implied in the tradition that Nethcoem, a later abbot of Terryglass, was brother to Coemgen of Glendalough.²⁸⁵

Perhaps most interesting for literary history is the three-cornered relation between Terryglass, Clonenagh, and Tallaght. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Aedh mac Dubhdacrich, who was killed at Dun Masc in 845, was abbot of Terryglass and Clonenagh.²⁸⁶ Another abbot who is common to both is mentioned by the *Four Masters* at 898. The usual hagiographical reflection of these relations is found in the life of Fintan of Clonenagh, where the statement is made that Fintan was a pupil of Columb of Terryglass.²⁸⁷

Connections between Terryglass and Tallaght are revealed by the frequent appeal to the authority of Mael-dithruib in the ninth-century tract *The Monastery of Tallaght*. Maeldithruib appears later in the *Book of Leinster* list of Maelruain's community as an anchorite of Terryglass.²⁸⁸ Since it is apparent, moreover, that he came from Terryglass to Tallaght, whatever literary influence he may have exerted was the influence of Terryglass.²⁸⁹ The bishop Carthach, another authority invoked by the writer of the tract,²⁹⁰ may be the same one that is mentioned as abbot of Terryglass by the *Four Masters* under the year 851.

The triangular association of Terryglass, Clonenagh, and Tallaght is completed by the movements of Oengus the Culdee, to whom is ascribed the compiling of the *Félire*. He began his work at Clonenagh, where he was a member of the monastic community, and finished it at Tallaght in the early ninth century.

²⁸⁵*Fél.*, pp. 128, 144, 240; *LL*, 374c, 351e, 375a.

²⁸⁶A.D. 844; *Wars of G. with G.*, pp. 18-19.

²⁸⁷*VSH*, II, 97.

²⁸⁸*Proc. R.I.A.*, XXIX (1911-1912), 122.

²⁸⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 135-137.

²⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 122.

D. The Use of Inter-Monastic Channels for the Transmission of Literary Material

1. *The Use of Intermonastic Channels in Ireland.*—So far we have examined the channels between Ireland and Britain and the inter-relations between Irish monasteries connected directly or indirectly with Britain. We have seen that many of the Irish monasteries considered were repositories and producers of literary documents. The question we must now answer is, How were the channels of communication used for the interchange of literary material?

First, let us examine the Irish intermonastic channels. Although it is not possible to produce examples of interchange of material for all of the connections mentioned in the foregoing survey, we have a number sufficient to show that such interchange was a usual feature of intermonastic relations.

One of the most noteworthy instances of literary intercommunication survives in a note included in the *Book of Leinster*. It is written by Finn, Bishop of Kildare, to Aedh mac Crimthann, abbot of Terryglass, who was compiling the book. Referring to one of the pieces included in the compilation, he asks Aedh to finish it and to send him a copy of the poems of Flann mac Lonáin.²⁹¹ We must infer from this that the *Book of Leinster* traveled from Terryglass to Kildare while work on it was in progress, and that Finn of Kildare was in sufficiently close touch with the work to allow of his making suggestions to the compiler. We may not, strictly speaking, assume that the manuscript could have been seen by Britons at Terryglass, for we have no evidence that Terryglass was in direct communication with Britain. At Kildare, however, the traces of definite British influence, combined with Kildare's close connections with Clonard, Killeigh, and other foundations where British contact is clearly established, make it almost unavoidable that British clerics should have seen this compilation. We should also remember that there must have been

²⁹¹*LL*, p. 288, lower margin.

a great collection of documents used as a basis for the *Book of Leinster*. If the request made by Finn, Bishop of Kildare, was granted, at least one of these—the poems of Flann mac Lonáin—was sent from Terryglass to Kildare. Unfortunately very few of these memoranda are now preserved, but even this one is sufficient to remind us that, then as now, books were exchanged between monasteries, and that compilers called upon their friends for assistance in the gathering of material.

The channels available for communication between Clonmacnoise and Roscommon were utilized in much the same way.²⁹² The *Cin Droma Snechta*, a famous eighth-century collection of heroic tales, was used by one scribe at Clonmacnoise about 1106, and by another at Roscommon about 1135. This instance of interchange does not belong definitely to the circle of monasteries specially subject to British contact. It is offered, however, in support of the assumption that relations between monasteries imply interchange of documents. If Roscommon and Clonmacnoise interchanged material, it is only natural to infer that Clonmacnoise and Clonard did likewise.

The surviving examples of the transmission of secular collections from one monastery to another are necessarily few, for it is only by accident that successive redactions of stories bear definite memoranda indicating the monasteries at which redactions were made. The case of ecclesiastical literature, however, is different. The life of a saint, and in many instances the traditions relating to this saint can usually be definitely assigned to the monastery or group of monasteries of which he is patron. When the same story is told of two different saints, or when the same story about the same saint occurs in two different lives, we may therefore be sure of one of two things: (1) one writer borrowed it from the other, or (2) both found it in some compendium

²⁹²The kind of evidence which establishes the relations between these two monasteries comes to us in a form that should be familiar to the readers of the foregoing pages. *Four Masters* at 979, *AU* at 1052, and *Chron. Scot.* at 1084 record deaths of men who were abbots of both.

of hagiographical lore. Either would be indicative of inter-monastic communication.

Making all due allowance for oral transmission, we must recognize that the compiling of martyrologies, of monastic rules, and saints' lives was not a popular, but a learned occupation, to which the use of written documents was indispensable. A great part of the evidence drawn from saints' lives so far considered as evidence of political or administrative relations between monasteries, may now be considered also as evidence of literary intercourse, for the borrowing of incidents from one life to pad out another, although it is, secondarily, evidence of some sort of friendly relations between the monasteries of the patrons concerned, it is, primarily, evidence of literary intercommunication. The writer who borrowed for the life of Maedoc certain incidents from the life of Molua must have had a life of Molua before him, and we have no choice but to infer that through some channel, direct or indirect, a life of Molua found its way from Clonfertmulloe to Ferns. Again, Suadal mac Testa of Ardmore, who is invoked as authority for certain passages in the tract known as *The Monastery of Tallaght*, may have communicated his ideas orally, but the natural assumption is that he wrote down his ideas at his monastery and that these writings were taken up to Tallaght by some cleric interested in both monasteries.

Readers of Irish hagiographical tradition must observe that, in spite of its contradictions, false chronology, and prodigality of miracles, it has a surprising unity of its kind—a unity which is artificial, the result of a learned tradition striving for uniformity. The systematized lists of saints in the hagiographical section of the *Book of Leinster* reveal the passion for standardization and symmetry. This passion was indulged to the detriment of genuine history. Just as all historical facts had to yield to the preconceived plan of the tenth- and eleventh-century synchronizers, so had all ecclesiastical facts to conform to the pattern of the hagiologist.

In discussing the transfer of hagiographical material from one monastery to another, we must keep clearly in

mind the difference between incidents and mere motifs. Miraculous resuscitations, discomfiture of enemies, producing of wells and the like are often mere bits of lore drawn from a common stock and possessing no individual traits that would make them useful for purposes of comparison. On the other hand, fully formed incidents consisting of a series of events, which can be transposed, augmented, or diminished, offer a definite basis of calculation.

In the life of Finnian of Clonard there is a story of a tyrannical sub-prior, who ordered the young Finnian to go out after a load of supplies under very unreasonable conditions.²⁹³ This story, although simple, is too complicated to have occurred to any two writers independently. We must therefore conclude that its transmission was entirely literary. When we find it repeated with certain modifications in the lives of the patrons of Ferns, Aghaboe, and Clonard, it remains only to remark the importance of this community of tradition as evidence of literary intercommunication between three monasteries already shown by other evidence to be connected with Britain and with each other.

The lives of Maedoc of Ferns and of Molua of Clonfertmulloe both contain the story of a young monk who, after being rebuked by his superior, prostrated himself on the seashore and remained there until the tide came in.²⁹⁴ Each writer, of course, tells the story with his own patron as hero. Both lives also tell the story of Maedoc's decision to consult David of Menevia concerning the choice of a father-confessor.

A similar borrowing process is discernible in the lives of Senan of Iniscathy and Ciaran of Clonmacnoise. A visit paid by Ciaran of Clonmacnoise to Senan of Iniscathy is related in the various lives of both saints with similarity of detail that makes literary transmission practically certain.²⁹⁵

²⁹³We shall examine this story in more detail later.

²⁹⁴The relations between the lives of Maedoc and Molua will be treated in more detail later.

²⁹⁵*LismSS*, lines 2388 ff.; *CS*, coll. 750-753; *VSH*, I, 208-209; *LismSS*, lines 4305 ff.

Another incident in the life of Ciaran, which relates a visit paid by Coemgen of Glendalough to Clonmacnoise, is avowedly taken from the life of Coemgen.²⁹⁶ The assertion of the writer is borne out by the presence of the incident in the extant life of Coemgen.²⁹⁷

Examples of this sort of borrowing are endless and they furnish the most convincing proof of interchange of documents between related monasteries. If any further evidence were necessary, we should find it in the frankly expressed debt of great compilations like the *Book of Leinster* and the *Book of the Dun* to the materials of various monasteries.

We may therefore summarize somewhat as follows:

1. Intermonastic relations are accompanied by interchange of documents. Of the documents which we know were transmitted, some were secular and some ecclesiastical, but all show that intermonastic channels were utilized.

2. Many monasteries in contact with Britain were within the circle of this interchange. It may therefore be justifiable to assume that in many instances contact between Britons and one Irish monastery was equivalent to contact with other related monasteries.

2. *The Use of the Channels between Britain and Ireland.* The channels in which we are chiefly interested, of course, are those which connect Britain with Ireland. There is abundant evidence that these channels were used for the transmission of literary documents and ideas.

Some of the material which we have considered as evidence for British-Irish communication is itself evidence for the interchange of documents. The tradition of the "sons of Bracan" in Ireland²⁹⁸ is clearly the result of such literary interchange. The character of Sawyl Bennuchel, father of Sanctan,²⁹⁹ is another example of the communication of genealogical tradition. The curious duplication of the Irish

²⁹⁶VSH, I, 215.

²⁹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 248-249.

²⁹⁸See above, p. 32 ff.

²⁹⁹See above, pp. 23-24.

genealogy of the Dessi by the Welsh is a still further example of this process.³⁰⁰ The appearance of the Constantine legend³⁰¹ at Rahen in Ireland is again an indication of the use, for literary purposes, of lines of communication established between an Irish monastery and Britain. The strongest piece of direct evidence so far examined is the presence in South Britain of a manuscript which had apparently passed through the hands of two ninth-century bishops of Armagh.³⁰²

We may proceed to the examination of some other evidence that these channels were utilized for literary purposes.

Some of the most clearly authenticated examples of interchange are attributed to the agency of Gildas. We have the authority of Columbanus for the statement that Gildas carried on correspondence with Finnian. Columbanus, in a letter to Gregory I (written 595–600), speaks of the problem arising from the action of certain monks who left the cloister and retired to desert places. He says that Finnian wrote to Gildas, asking his opinion, and Gildas replied to him.³⁰³ It is probable that Finnian was at that time making investigation in preparation for his collection of penitentials.³⁰⁴ It is unfortunate that Columbanus has left us no more information on this point, for he himself used the *Penitentials of Finnian* in the preparation of his own series,³⁰⁵ and probably was acquainted with the circumstances of their composition. A word or two would have obviated the controversy over the identity of Finnian—whether he was Finnian of Clonard or Finnian of Magh

³⁰⁰*Studies in English*, No. 6, pp. 14 ff.

³⁰¹See above, pp. 44–45.

³⁰²See above, pp. 65–66.

³⁰³*Mon. Germ. Hist., Epp. Mer. et Kar. aevi*, I, 159.

³⁰⁴This set of penitentials, which still survives in a manuscript of the eighth century, is published by F. W. H. Wasserschleben in his *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Halle, 1851, under the name *Vennianus*.

³⁰⁵J. T. McNeill, "The Celtic Penitentials," *Rev. celt.*, XXXIX (1922), 280–282.

Bile (Moville).³⁰⁶ The evidence already presented for the connections of Clonard with South Britain, however, makes it probable that he was the one intended. Finnian of Magh Bile is not connected with South Britain in any extant tradition. The only reasons advanced for making him the author of these penitentials are that he is said to have brought a copy of the "law" to Ireland,³⁰⁷ and that according to the accepted chronology, Finnian of Clonard and Gildas could not have been contemporaries. The first of these arguments has nothing apparent to do with the case. The word "law" is glossed by the commentators as "the gospels" or "the Law of Moses,"³⁰⁸ meaning probably, that he brought a copy of the New or of the Old Testament. The second argument, based on chronology, is even less convincing. The chronology of early Irish ecclesiastical affairs is an extremely insecure basis upon which to rest an argument. But even admitting these traditional dates into the discussion, there seems to be no reason why Gildas (b. 493)³⁰⁹ should not have been contemporary with Finnian (d. 549).³¹⁰

Whatever may have been the exact channels through which the opinions of Gildas were conveyed to Ireland, it is obvious that he was regarded as a high authority. The withdrawal of monks to solitary places, about which Finnian consulted him, was not the only point upon which his advice was valued. We find him invoked as an authority for an Irish canon which expresses disapproval of the Celtic (specifically, British) tonsure.³¹¹

Gildas seems also to have played a part in the transmission of poetic material. In the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, a

³⁰⁶For a summary of evidence, see McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 266 ff.

³⁰⁷In the main text of the *Félire* (ed. Stokes, p. 193).

³⁰⁸*Félire*, p. 204.

³⁰⁹Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 136.

³¹⁰AU, 548 (*recté* 549).

³¹¹See F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, Giessen, 1885, p. 212. This document was composed at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. Such an opinion is just what we should expect from the Romanized author of the *De excidio*.

document which contains Latin and Irish hymns of various dates, there is a poem known as the *Lorica of Gildas*.³¹² It belongs to a fairly well established class of hymns intended to ward off sickness or injury.³¹³ It is composed in a kind of Latin similar to the *Hisperica Famina*.³¹⁴ The hymn occurs in a number of other manuscripts ranging in date from the eighth to the fourteenth century.³¹⁵ In the eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts the poem is simply ascribed to Laidcend. In the *Leabhar Breac*³¹⁶ version, however, there appears a superscription which gives additional information. The heading reads: *Gillas hanc loriam fecit ad demones expellendos eos qui adversaverunt illi*. Then follows a statement of what the hymn is expected to accomplish. After this statement the explanation continues: *Laidcend mac Buith Bannaig uenit ab eo in insulam Hiberniam: transtulit et portauit super altare sancti Patricii episcopi sauos nos facere, amen*.³¹⁷

Laidcend was well known in Irish ecclesiastical and secular history as abbot of Clonfertmulloe after Molua and as chief poet to Niall of the Nine Hostages.³¹⁸ The literary

³¹²Ed. Bernard and Atkinson, I, 206-210.

³¹³See the full account by Dom Louis Gougaud, *Bull. d'anc. litt. et d'arch. chrét.*, I (1911); II (1912).

³¹⁴See the edition by F. J. H. Jenkinson, Cambridge, 1908. The editor in discussing the *Hisperica Famina* (p. ix) says that "the scene is laid in a country where the language of the inhabitants is Irish."

³¹⁵See Gougaud, *Rev. celt.*, XXX (1909), 37.

³¹⁶The *Leabhar Breac*, although not compiled until the fourteenth century, contains much old material.

³¹⁷*Old Irish Glosses*, ed. Whitley Stokes (Ir. Arch. and Celtic Soc.), Dublin, 1860, p. 136.

³¹⁸*Fél.*, p. 35; *AU*, 600. He appears in secular tradition as the chief poet of Niall of the Nine Hostages (see "How Niall of the Nine Hostages was Slain," *Otia Merseiana*, II, 90-1. Niall's quarrel with Eochu is ascribed to the killing of Laidcend by Eochu. See also the various tracts assigned to Laidcend by continental authors, *Rev. celt.*, XXX (1909), 37 ff. On the channels between Clonfertmulloe and Britain, see above, pp. 11-12. Of course, if Laidcend lived during the period usually assigned to him, it is impossible that he should have been chief poet to Niall. We are concerned here, however, only with his traditional fame as a literary and ecclesiastical figure.

fame of this man, combined with the absence of the name of Gildas from the earlier of the surviving manuscripts of the *Lorica*, has led some scholars to the conclusion that Laidcend, rather than Gildas, was the composer of this poem. Neither of these reasons seems sufficient for rejecting Gildas' authorship. Laidcend's ability as a man of letters should be no obstacle to his importing a piece of verse; it should rather render it more likely. The absence of the ascription to Gildas, though more important than the first reason, is not decisive, and there is evidence on the other side which more than balances it.

Whitley Stokes, in his edition of the poem, states that the Latinity points to a Welsh origin.³¹⁹ Latin learning of the kind reflected in the *Hisperica Famina* may easily have found a place in the British centers described in the earlier and more authentic Breton saints' lives. The tradition that makes Samson as well as Paul of Léon, David, and Gildas students under Iltud, a pupil of St. Germaine, at Llan Iltud, is clear, direct, and free from exaggeration. There is no reason to doubt the mission of Germaine to Britain, and, considering the organization and purpose of monastic life in that period, it seems inevitable that he should have had pupils in Britain. The general outline of the tradition of a school at Llan Iltud, therefore, bears all the earmarks of genuineness.³²⁰

As for the products of this school, we have nothing by which to judge them except the work of Gildas.³²¹ This work, however, and the Juvencus glosses, the *Lorica of Gildas*, and another hymn known as the *Altus Prosator* all contain words characteristic of the *Hisperica Famina*. In this community of Latinity M. Roger sees the product of a British-Irish school which must have been active during

³¹⁹*Old Irish Glosses*, p. 134.

³²⁰See the discussion by H. Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 306 ff., 325 ff. Zimmer is possibly a little too positive in his assertions, in view of the comparative lateness of the documents to which he refers.

³²¹That is, the *De excidio*.

the sixth century.³²² In view of the foregoing evidence and the previously mentioned connections of Gildas with Ireland, I can see no reason for rejecting the superscription which states that Laidcend brought to Ireland a hymn composed by Gildas in the sixth century. Unfortunately we have no record of what Laidcend brought from Ireland when he went to Britain. For the specific purposes of our present inquiry, however, the Gildas-Laidcend incident stands as an excellent example of literary interchange at a very early date.

The channels between Britain and Ireland were used also for the interchange of historical material. The *Annales Cambriae*, which in their present form, were probably compiled in the ninth century, are based on much older material, and seem quite certainly to have undergone redaction at St. David's,³²³ for the affairs and bishops of St. David's are mentioned almost to the exclusion of all others. It is interesting, therefore, to observe that evidences of Irish influence in their composition. Although the annals are very meager (many years are entirely blank), separate notice is taken of the death dates of Patrick, Brigit, Benignus, Columba, Ciaran, and Brendan and of the plague in Ireland. There are only five entries before the year 516, and four of these refer to Irish matters; and of twenty-one entries before 600, ten refer to Ireland. If, as Nicholson suggests,³²⁴ these annals are merely a copy of marginal entries made on a paschal cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine, it must be clear that these marginal entries are in turn based to a certain extent upon Irish sources. The opinion has been put forward that the earlier portion was actually based upon an Irish chronicle which was also used by the compilers of the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Tigernach*.³²⁵ There have also been observed certain affinities

³²²*L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, Paris, 1905, p. 225.

³²³Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 160.

³²⁴*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, VI (1908), 443.

³²⁵T. D. Hardy in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, Intro., pp. 92-93; see especially A. G. van Hamel, *Rev. celt.*, XXXVI (1915-1916), 1 ff.

between the *Annales Cambraie* and a set of Irish annals known as *Three Fragments*.³²⁶

Irish material enters prominently into another early British historical compilation, known as the *Historia Britonum*. The date, origin, and authorship of the various tracts which make up this compilation, in spite of the study that has been lavished upon them, are still uncertain. It may be regarded as fairly well established, however, that the compilation in its present form must have been put together during the ninth century. The relation of this collection to various Irish documents has been thoroughly discussed by Zimmer,³²⁷ and, though some of his contentions regarding the identity of the compiler and the age of certain parts of the document have not met with complete acceptance, the ultimate Irish source of certain portions is no longer seriously questioned. Some of these must be obvious even to the most casual reader. For example, there is a section on the life of St. Patrick,³²⁸ which must certainly have come from Ireland. There is also included the set of legends regarding the successive colonizations of Ireland.³²⁹ The compiler, after outlining these legends, acknowledges his indebtedness to Irish material in the following words: "*Si quis autem scire voluerit, quando vel quo tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta Hibernia, sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum nuntiaverunt.*"

It seems probable, moreover, that the compiler learned from the Irish the famous story of the original settling of Britain by Brut. About 1070 the *Historia Britonum* was translated into Irish by Gilla Coemgen. This translator, after setting down the genealogy of the British monarchs descended from Brut, appends the note: "Thus our noble elder Guanach collected the genealogy of the Britons from

³²⁶This is especially noteworthy, for, as we have already seen, these *Three Fragments* are very similar to the lost *Annals of Clonenagh*. On the affiliations of Clonenagh and its indirect connections with Britain, see above, pp. 66-67.

³²⁷*Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, 1893.

³²⁸*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant., Chron. Min.* 3, pp. 194-198.

³²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 156-158.

the chronicles of the Romans."³³⁰ Zimmer thinks Guanach is the Cuan who is invoked as historical authority by the *Annals of Ulster* many times before 628. He thinks, moreover, that he is the same as Cuana mac Ailcene, king of Fermoy, who died 640.³³¹ Whether Zimmer's speculations be true or false, it appears clear that at least in the eleventh century the story of Brut was regarded as having come into the *Historia Britonum* from an Irish source.

Here we have the most striking proof of interchange of documents. First, Irish material comes to Britain to be incorporated into the *Historia Britonum*; then the whole compilation is shipped back to Ireland,³³² and later translated into the vernacular.

Turning our attention now to one of the most important South British points of contact with Ireland, we observe that at St. David's the communication with Ireland reached its height in the eleventh century.³³³ About 1057 Sulien, a native of Cardigan, went to Ireland to study. He remained there for thirteen years. On his return he established a school at Llanbadarn Fawr in Cardigan, but soon after he went to St. David's to take the place left vacant by the

³³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 152.

³³¹*Nenn. Vind.*, pp. 250-251.

³³²It seems to have been taken to Ireland some time before 908. Keating (*History of Ireland*, I [ed. D. Comyn for Irish Texts Society], p. 158) tells the names of the people who accompanied Partholón, one of the early traditional colonizers of Ireland, and says that he is giving these names according to Nennius (reputed compiler of the *Hist. Brit.*) "as is read in the Saltair of Caiseal." The Saltair referred to is no longer extant, but we know that it was compiled by Cormac, who died 908.

One scribe attributes the compilation of the *Historia* to one Marcus, a Briton educated in Ireland, apparently basing his ascription on a legend related by Heric of Auxerre, the biographer of St. Germaine. See the discussion of this ascription by J. Stevenson in his *Nennii historia Britonum*, London, 1838, pp. xiii-xiv.

³³³An interesting reflection of Irish influence at St. David's is to be seen in the Goedelic names of some of the bishops. See the study by E. W. B. Nicholson, *Zeitsch. f. celt. Phil.*, VIII (1910-1912), 123.

death of the bishop Beudydd.³³⁴ Some of the results of Sulien's sojourn in Ireland are revealed in the work of his sons. One son, Ricemarch, composed a martyrology and psalter, which is still extant in its original form. The script,³³⁵ which is the work of Ithael, a member of the monastic community, and the illumination, which was done by Ricemarch's brother, Jean, are clearly of Irish type. The martyrology itself, which contains a number of Irish names,³³⁶ seems to be based on an Irish original. It seems likely that if these names had been inserted by the author, they would correspond more closely with the Irish names in the *Vita David*.³³⁷

Since the traditions of St. David's are summed up in the *Vita David*, an examination of this life in comparison with Irish hagiographical tradition should provide us with still further information about the use of intermonastic channels for the interchange of literary material. We have a fair idea of the date of the *Vita David*, for the author, Ricemarch, son of Sulien, died in 1098. Unfortunately for our purposes, however, most of the Irish lives with which we have to deal are, so far, undated. It is necessary therefore, that we pay some attention to their age before proceeding further.

3. *The Dates of the Irish Saints' Lives*.—Most of the undated lives with which we have to deal are preserved in manuscripts dating from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and

³³⁴A considerable amount of biographical detail is included in the poem by Sulien's son Jean (Haddan and Stubbs, I, 665). See also the entry for 1070 in *Brut y Tywysogion, or Chronicle of the Princes*, ed. John Williams ap Ithel, London, 1860 (Rolls Series).

³³⁵See the photographic reproduction accompanying the edition by H. J. Lawlor, *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*, London, 1914 (Publ. of the Henry Bradshaw Soc.), II. W. M. Lindsay finds, moreover, that in abbreviation and spelling the Welsh and Irish systems are practically identical. See his *Early Welsh Script*, Oxford, 1912, p. 40.

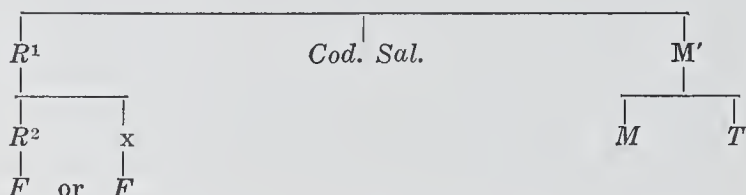
³³⁶Manchein, Fursa, Lasrean, Columcille, Failbhe, Colman, Brigit, and Patrick.

³³⁷See Lawlor's discussion of this point, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxxiv, note 2.

fifteenth centuries. The principal collections are as follows:

1. *Bodleian Rawlinson B. 485* (R^1), a collection dated by Madan 1200–1250.³³⁸
2. *Bodleian Rawlinson B. 505* (R^2), Latin, ca. 1350.
3. *Book of Lismore*, Irish, fifteenth century.³³⁹
4. *Codex Salmanticensis* (now Bibl. Roy., Brussels), 7672–7674, Latin, fourteenth century.³⁴⁰
5. *Primate Marsh's Library* (Dublin), V.3.4 (M), Latin, 1400–1450.
6. *Trinity College* (Dublin), E.3.11 (T), 1400–1450.
7. *Dublin Franciscans* (F), Latin, 1627.

The principal work on the relations between these various collections has been done by Charles Plummer in the preface to his *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*. It is to be hoped that the accompanying diagram, which attempts very tentatively to illustrate the general outlines of his conclusions, will not do his work great injustice.



It is not intended that the foregoing diagram should indicate that R^1 , *Cod. Sal.*, and M' are all based on one collection, but rather that, for a given individual life, we have in each collection an independent recension based ultimately or immediately upon a common original. It naturally follows, therefore, that any life which appears in two or more of these dependent recensions is, in its original form, older than either recension. We may then take our first step in the dating of these lives with the inference that a life appearing in R^1 and one of the other collections must have already been written when R^1 was compiled (1200–1250). The next question to be considered is, How long before 1200–1250

³³⁸VSH, I, p. xxii.

³³⁹Ed. Whitley Stokes, *LismSS*.

³⁴⁰Ed. De Smedt and De Backer, *AASSHib*.

were these lives in existence? In our attempt to answer this question, we shall first examine the structure and purpose of the lives; then we shall try to discover what period exhibits the literary and political characteristics most likely to have produced them.

The lives, with the exception of certain versions which have been extensively reworked and interpolated at a very late date, are surprisingly similar. Of course we should naturally expect a certain amount of uniformity in structure, for we are dealing with a group of biographies, and there are certain events that happen in about the same order in the life of every human being. Outside these main events, however, we are justified in expecting a considerable amount of variation, and these lives resemble each other so closely in structure and content that we are inclined to suspect the existence of a definite set of prescriptions for their composition. The standardization of incident and character is carried to a degree where the individuality of the hero is practically destroyed. When we read the life of Martin of Tours, of Germaine of Auxerre, or even of Samson of Dol, we feel, in spite of all the marvels and miracles, that we have to do with a real person and a real career; but when we read the later lives of Irish saints, we feel almost inclined to doubt whether such persons ever really existed. To appreciate to the full the effect of successive generations of hagiographers even upon a real person, one should read in chronological order the various documents dealing with the life of Patrick, and see how that rugged and forceful personality, so strikingly revealed in the *Confessio*—and even in Muirchu's tract—gradually loses color and animation, drops its individual characteristics one by one until, in the twelfth century, it becomes a mere thaumaturgic automaton. Patrick, by that time has ceased to be a man and has become an institution—and this institutionalized Patrick is used as a stalking horse for all manner of schemes in the contests of ecclesiastical politics.

A similar process seems to have affected the biographical tradition of most of the saints with whom we have to deal.

The actual existence of Ciaran, Finnian, Laisren, Brendan, Comgall, and others of the same period is attested by documents of unquestioned validity.³⁴¹ These men, moreover, must have been possessed of strong character and marked personality. Nevertheless practically no individual personality survives in the lives of these men as they have come down to us. The saints were nearly all born under miraculous circumstances; their birth was attended by portents of their future greatness; as children they performed miracles to assist themselves in their childish tasks; they went to school at Clonard or Bangor; they then journeyed out through the land performing miracle after miracle, until they died. If the reader is alert, he may catch here and there some such individual touch as the irritability of Fintan or the vivacity of Moling, but nothing more. In short, *the life was not biographical*. The writer chose a conventional framework, gathered together a few anecdotes of his hero, and let that suffice for biographical purposes. The true object of the life lay in a far different direction. It was the furthering of the interests of the monastery of which the saint was patron, or traditional founder. The writer of the life of Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, for example, was only incidentally interested in Ciaran as a character. His real interest was in Clonmacnoise. Ciaran's miracles, his journeys, his visits, his friendships, his strifes and enmities are simply devices to explain the traditions, to support the claims, and to exalt the prestige of Clonmacnoise. In general, the presence of the material which makes up most Irish (and Welsh) saints' lives may be ascribed to the following purposes:

1. To exalt the patron (and hence the monastery).
 - a. His noble descent.
 - b. His miraculous birth.

³⁴¹See the names mentioned by Alcuin, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae latinae aevi Carolini*, p. 342; also the Paschal epistle of Cumman (written before 669), *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXVII, col. 977; and the list of kings and saints appended to the tract *Cáin Adamnáin*, ed. K. Meyer, Oxford, 1905. All the kings in the list seem to have lived before 697.

- c. His piety.
- d. His thaumaturgic powers.
- e. His priority in point of time.
- 2. To explain the origin and provenience of relics.
- 3. To account for place names.
- 4. To account for relations with other monasteries.
 - a. Claims to jurisdiction.
 - b. Release and acquisition of subordinate monasteries.
 - c. Confraternity and federation.
 - d. Rivalries and disputes.
- 5. To press claims to connections with great foundations, such as Armagh, Durrow, Kildare, and others.
- 6. To present claims for lands awarded by princes.³⁴²

It naturally follows that there should be certain political or ecclesiastical events which are likely to produce such narratives. Special occasions such as the building of a church, the translation of a saint's relics, or a dispute over priority or possession would call into existence some kind of document setting forth a foundation's claims to reverence. An examination of some of the outstanding events in the history of the Irish church may therefore give us a hint as to the time most favorable to the production of lives.

It is hardly necessary to consider the period before the Norse invasion. None of the lives under consideration shows any convincing evidence of having been composed at such an early period, and many of them are demonstrably later. There are no clearly marked political movements within the period of invasion, which seem likely to have produced them. The rebuilding of the country after the Norse invasion, however, was a signal for renewed activity. Hardly a monastery had escaped destruction and plundering, and the problem of maintaining traditions, reorganizing, and rebuilding was pressing and difficult. If some document were not on hand to remind people of the ancient glories of each monastery, they would forget. The general disorganization of the country during the Norse raids, moreover, had thrown land rights and ecclesiastical dues into

³⁴²See Plummer's admirable statement of this tendency in the introduction to his edition of the Latin lives, *VSH*, I, xci-xcii.

such a state of confusion that a monastery which had no document upon which to base its claims for rehabilitation was in a desperate situation. Nothing could have been better calculated to fulfill the requirements than a saint's life of the kind which we are now considering.³⁴³

The church itself was undergoing a gradual development in organization. At first each monastery was a law unto itself. It had been established by a cleric who received lands from some noble, and it was regarded as the rightful heritage of the families of the founder and the endower. In the course of time, monasteries so established sent out members who founded others, which were to be subsidiary to the main house. Sometimes these were in the territory of the original endower, and sometimes in that of a neighboring family. Little by little the monasteries endowed and supported by the most powerful rulers came to control large numbers of subsidiary institutions, generally in surrounding territory, but sometimes a considerable distance away. The abbot of the parent monastery was the spiritual head of the whole system, and though he could not strictly be called head of a diocese, he occupied a position which was rapidly approaching that of the regular Roman diocesan bishop.

The growth of these larger organizations was bound to bring them into conflict with each other, and it is not uncommon to find in the *Annals of Ulster* accounts of battles fought between the respective supporters of two powerful head monasteries. The competition between these monasteries, their disputes over jurisdiction and land all come out in the saints' lives, not in the form of open statement, but in stories of monasteries voluntarily surrendered by their founders and of lands granted by grateful monarchs.

In the eleventh century, as the church reforms progressed under the impetus furnished by Norman ecclesiastics, the trend toward the division of the country into regularly constituted dioceses became more and more powerful. The movement came to a climax in the Synod of

³⁴³See the comment by Eugene O'Curry in his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861, pp. 343-344.

Rathbreasil (1111), which put into definite form the suggestions offered by Gilbert of Limerick, the papal legate. The result of this synod was the dividing of Ireland into a definite number of dioceses, each to be under the jurisdiction of a bishop. The bishops of the south were to be under the Archbishop of Cashel, and those of the north under the Archbishop of Armagh, who was virtual, although not yet actual, primate. This arrangement was not thrust upon the country as a surprise. It was a long time in preparation, and during that time we may be sure that the various leading monasteries of the country were not idle. It must have been clear to any observant eye that the tendency was toward diocesan bishops. It was therefore incumbent upon every ambitious monastery to do its utmost toward becoming an episcopal see. It follows as a natural consequence that the claims of the foundation should be duly arranged and set forth in orderly form.

In the whole history of the Irish church there was never an occasion more likely to produce the particular kind of ecclesiastical propaganda that we find in these Latin saints' lives. As we look back at the diocesan divisions provided for by the Synod of Rathbreasil we find that nearly every one is represented by a saint's life still extant. It would, of course, be unwise to infer that all the lives in the collections under consideration were composed in preparation for the division of the country into territorial dioceses, but it seems more than likely that the developments which led up to that process furnished a strong impetus toward all kinds of ecclesiastical advertising.

As we examine the events of the reformation in greater detail, we observe that there were certain monasteries which had special reasons for exploiting their antiquity and sanctity. In a note appended to the Synod of Kells (1152) there is a statement that there are two churches under the Archbishop of Cashel that said they ought to have bishops.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁴See the discussion by H. J. Lawlor, *Proc. R.I.A.*, XXXVI (1925), p. 18.

They were Mungret and Ardmore. With Mungret we are not particularly concerned, but Ardmore, whose founder, Declan, is credited with a visit to St. David's comes more directly within the scope of our inquiry. First, we may take it for granted that Ardmore was rebelling against Cashel. Second, it was rebelling against Lismore, for it was in the territory allotted to the Bishop of Lismore. Cashel was a southern arm of Armagh, and so, in a smaller way, was Lismore. It is not improbable, therefore, that the life of Declan, which pictures the patron of Ardmore as a predecessor of Patrick in Ireland, is intended to press the claims of Ardmore against those of Armagh and the northern tradition as represented by its tributary archbishopric of Cashel.

The intrusion of the power of Armagh into Munster may have led other churches to formulate their claims. The church of Emly had had occasion to protest against it as early as 955.³⁴⁵ Now the special diocese created for the Archbishop of Cashel included a good share of the territory occupied by foundations dependent upon Emly. On the east, the churches under the patronage of Ciaran of Saighir had to suffer in similar fashion. It is surely more than a coincidence, then, that along with Declan, Ailbhe of Emly and Ciaran of Saighir were described by their biographers as predecessors of Patrick. This is offered as an example of the direct reflection in the saints' lives of events in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland between the Norse invasion and the Synod of Rathbreasil.

Let us now turn to the literary conditions. It is fairly generally known that the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Ireland were distinguished by a great literary and scholarly renaissance. The heroic tales were gathered up and placed in great collections; the number of teachers was increased; and poets and scholars were hard at work codifying and systematizing the history of the country. One of the predominating characteristics of the whole movement was the

³⁴⁵See the Bodleian version of the *An. Inisf.*, O'Connor's *Rer. Hib. Script.*, II, *sub anno*.

spirit of antiquarianism. This antiquarianism was naturally subject to the limitations of the age. It began with a fixed purpose, which was not to be altered by the facts discovered. Facts had to be moulded to fit the purpose. Native literature, the old chronicles, genealogies, saints' lives and lyric poetry were all ransacked for material with which to build a systematic history. The lives which we are considering bear every evidence, in structure, material, and purpose, of having been produced by the same impetus during the same period.

On the whole, we may say that the general effect of the external evidence is to place the composition of the special type of life with which we are dealing somewhere between the years 1000 and 1150. As we return to a more detailed examination of the community of hagiographical tradition between Ireland and Britain, we may be able to provide some of the individual lives at least with a fairly definite *terminus ad quem*.

4. *Irish Hagiographical Tradition, the Vita David, and the Vita Cadoci*.—We shall examine first the evidence for community of hagiographical tradition between Britain and Ireland as it is revealed in the *Vita David*. Although this life is preserved in several manuscripts, the version in *Cotton Vespasian A. XIV* is probably the best and most complete.³⁴⁶ The first use of Irish material with which we are concerned in this life comes from no identifiable literary source, but it offers decisive evidence for the presence of Irish tradition in South Britain. It cannot, therefore, be neglected. The statement is made in the life³⁴⁷ that Patrick visited South Britain thirty years before the birth of David. He intended to stay there as a teacher and missionary, but he was told by an angel that he must leave, for that country was reserved for David. After predicting the birth of

³⁴⁶The manuscripts are as follows: *Brit. Mus. Cotton Nero E.I.*; *Bodleian Digby 112*; *Cambridge Corpus Christi 161*; *Bodleian 793*; *Bodl. Rawl. B.485*; *Rawl. B. 505*; *Bodl. 285*; *Bodl. 336*; *Cambridge Univ. Lib. Ff. 1, 27, 28*.

³⁴⁷*Ed. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

David, he departed for Ireland. In this story it seems that we have an echo of a clash between the reputation of David and Patrick. It is only natural that in a country containing as many Irish people as Dyfed there should be preserved strong traditions of Patrick. The independent existence of the Patrick tradition in South Britain is clearly indicated by the fact that a version of his life is known to have undergone redaction in South Britain.³⁴⁸ The tradition is also preserved in various topographical legends and place names. It is probable that this incident was included in the *Vita David* to account for the persistence of the Patrick tradition in some parts of South Britain without detracting from the prestige of David himself.

The blind monk who held the infant David at the time of his baptism was miraculously healed. The Vespasian version adds that this monk was born without eyes or nose.³⁴⁹ This motif, which is common in Irish hagiographical literature, appears first in the Muirchu version of the life of Patrick,³⁵⁰ where as in the *Vita David* it is accompanied by the miracle of the fountain springing up at the place of baptism. The monk is sometimes deaf and dumb, sometimes blind, and sometimes "table-faced." While we may not infer definitely that Ricemarch used a life of Patrick as a basis for this incident, we may safely look upon it as a characteristically Irish feature. The impression of borrowing from the Irish is strengthened by the name of the monk. Both Vespasian and Nero text give his name as Moui, which immediately suggests a phonetic equivalent of the Irish Mobi, a person known to Irish ecclesiastical tradition as Móbi Claraineach (Mobi the Tablefaced).³⁵¹

Another name that has caused some confusion appears in the first paragraph of the life. There it is stated that Sant, father of David, made a grant to the monastery of

³⁴⁸See the discussion by J. B. Bury, "A Life of St. Patrick (Colgan's *Tertia Vita*)," *Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, XXXII (1903), Section C, especially p. 211.

³⁴⁹*Ed. cit.*, p. 8; *Cott. Nero E. I.*, fol. 158.

³⁵⁰*Trip. Life*, p. 8. Also in most of the subsequent lives.

³⁵¹*Fél.*, at Oct. 12 and p. 222.

Maucann (also called the Monastery of the Deposit). This name because of its similarity to Maucen (of Whithern) has been used as a point of departure for an argument that Ty Gwyn (Candida Casa) was in South Britain. There is reasonable ground for suspicion, however, that this may be the well-known Irish Manchan of Liath Manchan. The compiler of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* states that the abbots of Liath Manchan claimed that their patron was a Briton and came to Ireland with Patrick.³⁵² The Welsh version of this incident gives the name as *Liconiuanian*³⁵³ (var. *Licomanam*). Wade-Evans reads *Litoninancan* (for *liton maucan*.)³⁵⁴ It may not be amiss, therefore, to suggest that this may be an attempt to reproduce the Irish Liath Manchan.

As we have already seen, Ailbe, patron of Emly, was credited in Irish tradition with a visit to St. David's. In his life there is related an incident which occurred in Britain before the birth of David. Ailbe stood by one day as a priest was celebrating mass.³⁵⁵ David's mother, then pregnant, joined the congregation. Immediately the priest was struck dumb. Ailbe, looking about the congregation, quickly divined the presence of the unborn David³⁵⁶ and explained to the assembly that the priest was unable to continue because it was not legal for a priest to celebrate mass in the presence of a bishop unless commanded to do so.³⁵⁷ This account seems nearer to the original than any

³⁵²P. 107. The compiler disagrees with them and sets down the pedigree of Manchan to show that they are wrong.

³⁵³CBSS, p. 102.

³⁵⁴See his edition of the life of David, p. 30, note 2.

³⁵⁵The preceding part of the narrative mentions Armorican Britain and fails to make the transition to insular Britain. This is due simply to carelessness and not to a desire to make it appear that David was born in Brittany.

³⁵⁶See the reference in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* (VII, 3) to the priest of Ireland who became dumb on account of a child in the womb.

³⁵⁷*Vita Albei*, par. 21 (in CS).

of the others,³⁵⁸ for it gives a definite point to the priest's dumbness—a point growing indirectly out of Irish ecclesiastical tradition.³⁵⁹ The story then continued that David's father dedicated his son to Ailbe forever.³⁶⁰

The *Vita David* uses this incident with certain changes. The priest, unnamed in the *Vita Albei*, is Gildas. The dumbness, although ascribed to the presence of the unborn David, is not accounted for by the priest-bishop relation. Ailbe comes into the story merely to baptize David.³⁶¹ The incident appears again in the *Vita Gildae* ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, with Gildas still playing the rôle of the discomfited priest.³⁶² In both the *Vita David* and the *Vita Gildae* Gildas accepts the miracle as a sign that he is to abandon his ministry in Britain and go elsewhere. It is difficult to imagine that Caradoc, writing in the interests of Glastonbury, would have invented an incident which showed his hero to disadvantage in comparison with the patron of St. David's. We must infer, therefore, that he borrowed it from the *Vita David*.³⁶³ With very little difficulty we

³⁵⁸In some of the other (and probably later) versions the dumbness is explained merely as a signal in preparation for the prophecy of David's birth.

³⁵⁹See the story told in the annals (*Four Masters*, 755) to account for the origin of the regulation regarding priests celebrating mass before bishops. At Kildare Eutigern, a bishop, was killed by a priest between the "crocaingel" and the altar. Since that time a priest does not celebrate mass before a bishop at Kildare.

³⁶⁰So the version in *Cod. Sal.* In *M* and *T* it is said that David was given to Ailbe as a foster-son.

³⁶¹*Ed. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

³⁶²*Mon. Germ. Hist., Chron. Min.*, III, pp. 107-108.

³⁶³One may ask why, if he would not have invented the incident, he should have borrowed it. It is entirely probable that Caradoc's *Vita Gildae* was a piece of routine work done to order. It is clear, in reading the life, that Caradoc is not entirely at home in the field of hagiography, and that in writing this piece, he hastily gathered together at random whatever material about Gildas came easily to hand. It is very likely, therefore, that the adoption of this particular incident was due to ignorance or carelessness of its implications. When Ricemarch included it in the *Vita David*, of course, he knew exactly what he was about. He wished to account for the survival of the

may group the lives in which this incident occurs in the following order: (1) The *Cod. Sal.* version of the *Vita Ailbe*, (2) the *M* (and *T*) versions of the *Vita Ailbe*, (3) the *Vita David*, (4) the *Vita Gildae* of Caradoc.³⁶⁴ This grouping pertains to our present purpose in two ways: (1) it illustrates the community of ecclesiastical tradition between Ireland and Britain, and (2) it shows that the *Cod. Sal.* version of the *Vita Ailbe* can be no later than 1098, the date of the death of Ricemarch, author of the *Vita David*.

The next example of community of hagiographical tradition is concerned with the life of Maedoc of Ferns. In the *M* version there appears an incident which may be summarized as follows:³⁶⁵ One day as Maedoc was reading in the door of his cell³⁶⁶ the steward came to him and angrily ordered him to go out after the brothers into the forest to fetch wood. They had gone at dawn without Maedoc's knowledge. The steward hated Maedoc without reason. Maedoc obediently hastened out and left his book open in the door. The steward told Maedoc to take two unbroken oxen and hitch them to the cart, and gave him a yoke without straps. The oxen, by a miracle, became domesticated and the yoke stayed on them. Maedoc hitched them to the cart and followed the brothers, accompanied by a little boy. There was a large swamp between them and the forest, and accordingly the road made a long detour. The boy said, "We could catch up with the brothers sooner if there were a road through this swamp." Maedoc replied, "Sain your heart and eyes and you will see the power of God." Then Maedoc drove the oxen into the swamp, and God made a smooth road before him. The traces of

cult of Gildas in David's territory, without sacrificing any of David's prestige.

³⁶⁴F. Lot (*Melanges bret.*, pp. 275-276) shows that this life must have been composed some time before 1166.

³⁶⁵VSH, II, 144-146.

³⁶⁶The scene is laid in Britain at the time when Maedoc was a pupil of David. See above, p. 13.

that road are perceptible to this day. Later they caught up with the brothers and gave thanks to God.

David saw all that the steward had done, and how Maedoc had left his book open. On that day there was a heavy rain. David, knowing that the book had been left open, went to save it. And not a drop of rain had fallen upon the book, but it appeared dry. Seeing this, David left the book where it was and went to the seashore, to meet the brothers. The monastery of Menevia is near the sea. He passed by all of them until he came to Maedoc, and said to him, "Why did you leave your book open out-of-doors in the rain?" Hearing this, Maedoc prostrated himself on the ground. And the bishop David did not say to him, "Arise," but returned home immediately after the brothers. Maedoc did not arise until the brothers reached home. The boy who had been with Maedoc told everybody how they had traversed the swamp. David called the brothers together and asked them, "Where is Brother Maedoc?" They answered: "We have not seen him since he prostrated himself before you on the seashore." Brothers were sent to the shore, and they brought back Maedoc to his master. Then David told everybody of the various miracles that had been performed that day by Maedoc; and he reprimanded the steward.

The next section deals with an attempt of the steward to murder Maedoc. He was thwarted by a miracle, and when he was discovered, David began to upbraid him. But Maedoc said, "Do not you reprimand him, for God will reprimand him. He shall soon die, and no one will know where his grave is."

This is followed by the story that one day Maedoc was sent out after a load of beer. When he came to a certain valley, the oxen and cart fell off the road. By a miracle he retrieved oxen, cart, and load uninjured.

The incident of the tyrannical steward occurs, with certain variations, in eight Irish and British saints' lives.

1. Maedoc (*Ma*¹) Marsh VSH, II, pp. 144-6.
2. Maedoc (*Ma*²) Cott. Vesp. A. XIV VSH, II, p. 298.
3. Finnian (*F*¹) Book of Lismore LismSS, ll. 2552 ff.
4. Finnian (*F*²) Cod. Sal. CS, coll. 192-3.
5. Cainnech (*Cai*) Marsh (Rawl.) VSH, I, p. 153.
6. Cadoc (*Cad*) Cott. Vesp. A. XIV CBSS, pp. 38-9.
7. Teilo (*T*) Book of Llan Dâv Text of the Bk. Ll., pp. 101-2.
8. David (*D*) Cott. Vesp. A. XIV Ed. Wade-Evans, p. 16.

All versions represent the incident as taking place in Britain. In *M*¹, *M*², *T*, and *D* it is told of Maedoc; in *Cai*, it is Cainnech; in *F*¹, *F*², and *Cad*, it is Finnian. In examining the relation between the documents which contain this incident we may leave out of consideration the elements common to all versions, and confine ourselves to those which appear variously. These variables may be tabulated as follows:

*M*¹

1. Two persons (Maedoc and a boy).
2. The abandoned book saved.
3. Wild oxen.
4. Defective equipment.
5. Traversing the swamp.
6. Rebuke and prostration.

The following are separate but immediately succeeding incidents:

The fate of the steward.
The overturned wagon.

*M*²

Same as *M*¹.³⁶⁷

*F*¹

1. Two persons (implied by the plural verb).
2. Stags instead of oxen.
3. The young monk does his work very quickly.
4. The fate of the steward.

³⁶⁷The incidents are practically the same, but the order is different. All around this version is much inferior to *M*¹.

F²

1. Finnian alone.
2. Finnian protests that he has no equipment.
3. Ordinary oxen provided.
4. Does his work more quickly than the others.
5. The fate of the steward.

Cai

1. Cainnech alone.
2. He was reading, but no book is mentioned.
3. Wild oxen.
4. Crosses an inlet at high tide.
5. The steward, after being rebuked, becomes C.'s friend.

Cad

1. Two persons (Finnian and MacMoil).
2. Finnian protests that he has no equipment.
3. Abandoned book is saved.
4. Stags instead of oxen.
5. Cadoc rebukes the steward and prophesies his death.

T

1. Two persons (Teilo and Maedoc).
2. They were reading but there is no further mention of the book.
3. Stags instead of oxen.
4. They did the work with extraordinary speed. There were no others present.

D

1. Maedoc alone.
2. Ordinary oxen.
3. Abandoned book saved.
4. Overturned load.

The variations between the forms of the incident as presented in these eight documents consist chiefly of omission or inclusion of certain details. The only item upon which there is a distinct disagreement is the animals used. Here we have a clear line of cleavage which points to two different recensions. It is especially noteworthy that this cleavage separates two lives of Finnian which, in other particulars, resemble each other to such a degree as to indicate that they depend ultimately upon a common original. It seems likely, moreover that the oxen (as in *F²*)

were the animals used in the original version of the incident, for the oxen appear also in *M* (both versions) and *Cai*, whereas *M*, *Cai*, and *F*² differ in other respects. On the other hand *Cad* and *T* agree with *F*¹ in the use of stags.

In the light of the information we have concerning the connections between Llancarvan and Clonard,³⁶⁸ we may safely regard the correspondence between *F*¹ and *Cad* as due to the presence at Llancarvan of a life of Finnian of Clonard.

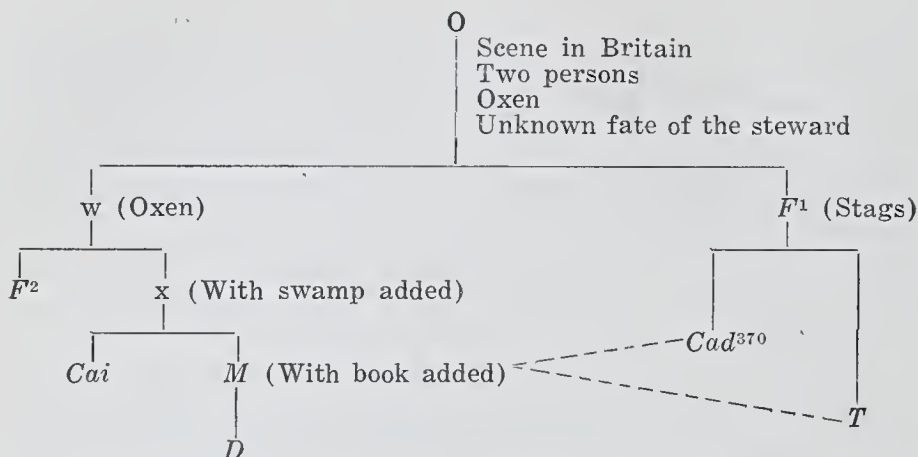
The "oxen" recension (*M* (both versions) *F*² *CaiD*) seems to have reached South Britain by way of the channel between Ferns and St. David's, for *D* includes an incident (the overturned load) which occurs in none of these versions but *M*. *Cai* and *F*² do not include the incident of the preservation of the abandoned book, although they state that the young monk was reading when he was accosted by the steward. The book incident, which is a commonplace of Celtic hagiographical tradition, appears only in *M* and *D*. We should naturally assume, then, that *M* and *D* represent a later form than *F*².

Two of the variable elements under consideration appear in lives of both the "stags" and "oxen" recensions. They are the unknown grave (or fate) of the steward (*F*¹*F*²*M*) and the presence of two persons (*F*¹ *MCadT*). Traversing the swamp (or inlet) the preserving the book do not occur in the "stags" recension; neither do they occur in all the versions of the "oxen" recension. They may be regarded, therefore, as later additions.

The accompanying diagram is an attempt to illustrate the development of the incident as it occurs in the various texts under consideration.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸See above, pp. 19-23. Note also the correspondence between the *Vita Cadoci* and the life of Finnian with regard to the founding of Nant Garban (Llancarvan).

³⁶⁹We are not attempting here to establish textual relations. For instance, it is not suggested that the incident in *D* is taken from either the Marsh or the Vespasian version of the *Vita Maedoc*, but that it is based on a version in which the incident appears in a similar form.



The foregoing episode, then, serves as an excellent example of Irish-British community of hagiographical tradition. It may help us also toward at least a tentative date for some of the lives. The development of the episode shows us, for example, that a life of Maedoc analagous to M^1M^2 must have been in existence before the death of Ricemarch, author of the *Vita David*, in 1098. It also shows us that the *Vita Cadoci*, which was written at about the same time as the *Vita David*, was preceded by a life of Finnian analogous to F^1 .

It is interesting to observe that some of the lives in this group are linked together by other episodes. The *Vita David* illustrates the prompt obedience of the monks at Menevia by the fact that when the bell sounded for prayers the scribe left his work immediately, even though he left a letter only half formed.³⁷¹ Compare with this the incident in the life of Cainnech, which tells how the young monk was suddenly called away from his writing. The letter which he left unfinished was completed during his absence by an angel.³⁷²

The life of Maedoc and the life of Finnian both contain the incident of the repulse of the Saxons. Each writer, of

³⁷⁰The book incident seems to have been communicated to *Cad* and *T* by a life of Maedoc similar to that used by the writer of the *Vita David*—possibly the same one.

³⁷¹CBSS, p. 127.

³⁷²VSH, I, p. 153; CS, col. 363.

course, attributes this miraculous achievement to his own hero.³⁷³ The story recalls the famous hallelujah victory of Germaine, related in the *Historia Britonum*.

Returning to the specific connections between *Vita Maedoc* and the *Vita David*, we find that they have still further material in common. In a passage awkwardly inserted between two paragraphs dealing with Modomnoc³⁷⁴ we find the story that David gave Maedoc a bell. When Maedoc returned to Ireland, he forgot to take the bell with him. He sent a messenger to David for it; David turned the messenger back, and returned the bell to Maedoc by an angel.³⁷⁵ The presence of this incident between two paragraphs dealing with Modomnoc suggests interpolation. The suggestion is practically confirmed by the fact that the passage occurs in the Vespasian version but not in the Nero version. The interpolation must have been made from an Irish source, for the incident is described also in the life of

³⁷³VSH, II, pp. 146–147, 299; *LismSS*, lines 2561–2566; CS, col. 193.

³⁷⁴Modomnoc of Tiperaghny (Tiprait Fachtna) is brought into the *Vita* as a visitor of David. When he returned to Ireland, he took a swarm of bees with him. Modomnoc is well known also in Irish tradition as the saint who brought the bees to Ireland (see *Fél.*, pp. 60, 74, 112). This may give us a hint as to the date of the life of Molagga of Timoleague. This life assigns to Molagga the honor of having brought the bees to Ireland from St. David's and adds that David gave Molagga a bell (see the life edited by Fáinne Fion in *The Irish Rosary*, XV, 1911, 515–516; also Colgan's Latin translation from Brussels MS Bibl. Roy. 2533–2534, *AASSHib*, Jan. 20). The taking over of such a distinctive tradition as the importation of the bees is in itself remarkable. Although it is hard to say what may have prompted it, we may be permitted the speculation that it was suggested by the name of a place of which Molagga was patron, Lann Beachaire (modern Breemore, near Balbriggan)—the place of the bees (see *Fél.*, Jan. 20). But this is not sufficient to have produced the statement that he got them from St. David's and that he was given a bell. The only place where St. David's, the bees, and the bell are all found together is in the Vespasian version of the *Vita David*. Here the incidents occur in two successive paragraphs, although they do not refer to the same person. It seems likely, therefore, that the life of Molagga, or at least this incident in the life, must be later than the Vespasian version of the *Vita David*, ca. 1200.

³⁷⁵Ed. Wade-Evans, p. 19.

Maedoc. In M^2 it comes in like an afterthought. We are told that Maedoc, upon his landing in Ireland, repulses a band of robbers with his bell. Shortly after comes the contradictory statement that he had left his bell in Britain and that it was sent to him by David.³⁷⁶ In M^1 the incident is related in the same way. There is nothing in the *Vita Maedoc* account, therefore, to correspond with the turning back of the messenger. This element comes from the incident immediately preceding the account of the bell. This story runs that Maedoc, after he arrived in Ireland, recollected that he had neglected to inquire from David who his father confessor should be in Ireland. He set out, therefore, to return to Britain and find out. In the middle of his journey he was turned back by an angel who told him that Molua of Clonfertmulloe was to be his father confessor. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that since these two similar incidents—the bell incident and the father confessor incident—appear side by side in the *Vita Maedoc*, the bell incident as it appears in the *Vita David* is made up of elements from both.

It may be possible now to make some speculations regarding the relations between texts. Of M^1 and M^2 it is fairly obvious that neither derives from the other. Plummer, after examining the M^2 text, concludes that it represents an early recension and that it is based on an Irish original. He also finds that M^1 derives from a text similar to M^2 .³⁷⁷ It is tempting to assume that the incidents in the *Vita David* were borrowed from M^2 , for they both appear in the same manuscript.³⁷⁸ The bell incident, at least, which does not appear in the Nero text, and which looks like an interpolation in the Vespasian text, could have been supplied by the compiler of the Vespasian manuscript from the life of Maedoc which he must have had before him.

³⁷⁶VSH, II, 300; the M^1 version, *ibid.*, pp. 147–148.

³⁷⁷VSH, I, lxxv–lxxvi.

³⁷⁸*Cott. Vesp. A. XIV*. This manuscript contains other Irish hagiographical material. The items are as follows: the lives of Tathan, Aidan (Maedoc), and Brendan, and a calendar which mentions Brigit, Maidoc, Kieran, Patrick, and Brendan.

With regard to the bell, however, it must be noted that in the *Vita David* the bell has an Irish name, Crue Din, which appears in neither M^1 nor M^2 .

In general, we may say that while there is certain textual evidence that might lead to believe M^2 to be close to the source, M^1 , on the whole, is the better version than M^2 , and, though late in date itself, it represents an earlier, or at least a more intelligent, recension. It seems likely, moreover, that the incident of the steward and the young monk in the *Vita David* is based on some version like M^1 than on M^2 . In M^2 it is so confused that, without the aid of the other version, we should hardly be able to understand it. The incident as told in the *Vita David* shows that the writer had access to an orderly account. The particulars in which M^1 is better than M^2 are as follows:

1. The first mention of the book does not lead the writer of M^1 to speak of the rain-storm prematurely. He brings it in later with the discovery of the abandoned book.

2. M^1 states definitely that Maedoc was to go after a load of wood.

3. The steward in M^1 tells Maedoc to go on *after* the brothers instead of *with* them, as in M^2 . The original story seems to be that Maedoc remained reading after the others had gone.

4. M^1 explains why Maedoc had not already gone.

5. It states that he was already out-of-doors, as in the *Vita David*. M^2 simply says that he was reading.

6. The passage dealing with the traversing of the swamp is much clearer in M^1 . It explains that the way through the swamp was a short cut which would enable Maedoc and the boy to overtake the brothers. In M^2 there seems to be no motive for crossing the swamp.

As we look back at the summary which stands at the beginning of our discussion of the incident of Maedoc and the steward, we observe that part of the incident was not taken over by the author of the *Vita David*. That part is the reproof administered by David and the young monk's humble prostration on the seashore. While this episode does not bear directly on Irish-British community of tradition, it has an important bearing on the dates of the lives of Maedoc and Molua. It cannot, therefore, be neglected.

This incident occurs in M^1 and M^2 . It occurs also in the following:

<i>Vita Lugidi</i> [Moluae] (<i>Mo</i> ¹) Cod. Sal.	CS, coll. 268 ff.
<i>Vita Moluae</i> (<i>Mo</i> ²) Marsh	VSH, II, 211-212.
<i>Vita Comgalli</i> (<i>Com</i>) Marsh (coll. with T)	VSH, II, 13-14.

In *ComMo*¹*Mo*² the incident occurs at Bangor in Ireland; in *M*¹*M*², at St. David's in Britain. *M*¹ and *M*² differ somewhat in rather important details. Since the summary already given is that of *M*¹, the succession of events as given by *M*² is listed here.

1. David and the brothers went to the shore.
2. David rebuked Maedoc for leaving his book out-of-doors.
3. Maedoc prostrated himself.
4. David and the brothers returned home without him.
5. David inquired for him and sent messengers for him.
6. The waters had risen, but the sea was piled up round about him.
7. The brothers drew him into the boat.³⁷⁹

In *Mo*¹ and *Mo*² the incident is independent and contains certain variations from the Maedoc version. They may be tabulated as follows:

*Mo*¹

1. The brothers were descending from a boat.
2. One of them rebuked Molua.
3. He prostrated himself on the shore.
4. The brothers went on without him and *came to land*.
5. Comgall inquired for Molua and sent messengers after him.
6. They found that the waves had stood still and had not approached him *by the width of a house*.
7. They aroused him and he returned with them.

*Mo*²

1. They were walking on the shore.
2. A brother in the rear of the group rebuked Molua.
3. He prostrated himself on the shore.
4. The brothers went on and *came to land*.
5. Comgall inquired for him and sent messengers.
6. They found a flood of the sea all around, but the water was piled up around him *by the width of a house*.
7. He did not know he was surrounded by water and came out untouched.

*Mo*¹ and *Mo*² diverge slightly. In (1) the scene is different, and in (7) the conclusion is slightly modified. On the

³⁷⁹VSH, II, 298.

other hand in (4) they agree to the detriment of sense. In *Mo*¹ it is fairly reasonable to suppose the incident taking place in shallow water as the brothers were getting out of the boat, but in *Mo*² where they were walking on the shore there is no point in saying that they came to land.

*Mo*² is closest to *Maed*, but both *Mo*¹ and *Mo*² seem to be based on *Com*. In *Com* are two parallel incidents that almost constitute a doublet. The first incident is introduced to show the obedience of Comgall's monks. The preliminary explanation is given that anyone who is rebuked must kneel at once. The story is then told that a party of monks were out in a boat. The helmsman rebuked one of them, and he immediately stepped overboard and knelt in the water. When they missed him they sent a diver after him and found him uninjured. The second, which is told of a monk called Obediens, may be tabulated thus:

1. The monks were walking on a shore subject to flood.
2. One of the monks rebuked Obediens.
3. Obediens prostrated himself on the shore.
4. The brothers went home without missing him.
5. Comgall inquired about him and sent messengers after him.
6. They found the shore covered with water except that a space *the width of a house* was left dry around Obediens.
7. He was brought back to Comgall.

The repetition in *Mo*¹⁻² of the phrase "the width of a house" in (6) points to *Com* as the source. We may observe, moreover, that the introduction of the boat in *Mo*¹ is the result of contamination with the first of the two prostration incidents in *Com*. We may conclude, then, that *Com* presents the incident in an earlier form than that which appears in *Mo*¹⁻². The motivation of the rebuke by the loss of the book seems to point to a later date for *Maed* than for *Mo*. The various versions of the incident may then be arranged in the following order: (1) *Com*, (2) *Mo*, (3) *Maed*. Of course we must allow that the stage of development of an incident is not always a safe criterion for the age of the narrative in which it appears, for it is possible that a later writer may use an earlier form of the

incident. At the same time it must be recognized that these lives were constantly growing and developing under the hands of successive redactors. It is only natural to assume, therefore, that conflations and modifications are the work of the author and not a mere *verbatim* reproduction of a petrified form. Indeed, comparison shows conclusively that each author worked out his narrative in his own way.

The priority of the *Vita Moluae* is supported further by another incident which is reproduced in the *Vita Maedoc*. *Mo*¹ tells how Molua came to be father confessor to David. Maedoc wished to cross the sea to learn from David who should be his father confessor. The story then proceeds: "*Cum autem Aidus in mare navigasset, surrexit contra eum mare et ventum contrarius. Et dixit ei angelus: Noli ire trans mare, sed ad virum tibi propinquum, scilicet Lugid mac Coche, et ipse amicus anime tue fiet.*"³⁸⁰ This incident appears also in *Mo*²,³⁸¹ *M*¹,³⁸² and *M*².³⁸³ The chief divergence may be observed in the following tabulation:

*Mo*¹

1. Maedoc wishes to go to David for a father confessor.
2. Sets out over the sea.
3. He is turned back by a storm.
4. Simply advised by the angel to seek Molua.

*Mo*²

1. Same as *Mo*¹.
2. Is prevented from embarking by an angel.
3. No journey.
4. The angel says that God knows his confession is pure, but he should go, nevertheless, to Molua if he does not wish otherwise.

*M*¹

1. Maedoc recollects that he has forgotten to ask David for a father confessor in Ireland.

*M*²

1. Same as *M*¹.

³⁸⁰CS, col. 278.

³⁸¹VSH, II, 2129.

³⁸²*Ibid.*, II, 147-148.

³⁸³*Ibid.*, II, 300.

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|--|--|
| <p>2. Starts walking over the sea because his followers will not prepare a boat for him.</p> <p>3. When he is one-third of the way over, he is visited by an angel.</p> <p>4. Angel says: It is a great <i>audacia</i> that you do. Maedoc replies: It is not for <i>audacia</i> but for the power and benignity of God.</p> <p>5. Angel tells him he needs no confessor, but that if he insists, he should go to Molua.</p> | <p>2. Starts walking over the sea, but no reason is given.</p> <p>3. Same as <i>M</i>¹.</p> <p>4. Angel says: It is a great <i>fiducia</i> that you do. Maedoc replies: It is done not through <i>fiducia</i>, but through fortitude.</p> <p>5. Same as <i>M</i>¹.</p> |
|--|--|

Here again it looks as if *Mo*¹ or its source preserves the earlier form of the incident. Its presence in *Mo*¹⁻² is clearly due to the prestige which it gives to Molua. In *Mo*¹ Maedoc seems to be rebuked by the elements for venturing to seek elsewhere for a father confessor. This, of course, presents the incident as seen through the eyes of an enthusiastic supporter of Clonfertmulloe. The Ferns supporter who wrote the life of Maedoc, being on the alert for every mention of Maedoc, felt that he ought to use this incident, but that it should be revised slightly in order to present Maedoc in somewhat better light: hence the walking on the water, and the dialogue with the angel, in which it appears that Maedoc needs no confessor but God.

It may be observed, further, that here again *M*¹ appears to offer an earlier and more reasonable form of the story than *M*². In *M*¹ the walking on the water is explained by the statement that the brothers would not fit out a vessel; in *M*² it is simply stated that Maedoc crossed the sea dry shod. *M*¹, moreover, preserves the more life-like and decisive *audacia*, where as *M*² softens it to *fiducia*.

*Mo*² seems to be influenced by *Maed*. The storm is omitted, and the angel admits that Maedoc's need for a confessor is not great, and that he may seek Molua as father confessor if he wishes. On the basis of the relation of the various forms of this incident we may offer the following chronological arrangement: *Mo*,¹ *M*,¹ *Mo*.² To express this chronological relationship in terms of dates is, as yet,

impossible; still we may be able to compute rather roughly the period to which the lives belong. As we have already seen, the borrowing from *M*² by Ricemarch gives us a *terminus ad quem* of 1098, this date being the year of Ricemarch's death. Since there is no record of Ricemarch's having visited Ireland, we are led to conclude that the Irish material used at St. David's was brought there by Sulien, his father, who is known to have been in Ireland before 1060. Thus, the *terminus ad quem* for this and other material used in the *Vita David* may with some show of certainty, be pushed back to 1060. The same date, of course, holds good for *Mo*¹ from which *M*¹ appears to have borrowed the father confessor incident. The same is true *a fortiori* of the *Vita Comgalli*.

As for the *Vita Moluae*, there seem to be good reasons for assigning to it an earlier *terminus ad quem* than that which is imposed upon it by its relations with the *Vita Maedoc*. Brian Borumha about the beginning of the eleventh century built a church at Killaloe (Cell Dalua), a monastic center, near his famous manor house at Kincora.³⁸⁴ Whether there was a monastery of Cell Dalua before this time, it is difficult to say. All we can say is that there seems to be no trustworthy record of its previous existence. Whether he founded it originally or not, Brian apparently took a rather lively interest in this settlement. Not only did he build a church there, but he also set up his brother as abbot.³⁸⁵ It seems only natural to ascribe to the influence of Brian's family the building up of Killaloe traditions. These traditions are embodied in the life of Flannan,³⁸⁶ who was supposed to have been second abbot of Killaloe. This life is certainly not early in date, and Flannan himself is unknown to the compilers of the martyrologies,³⁸⁷ and seems to play almost no part in Irish hagiographical tradition.

³⁸⁴*Wars of G with G*, pp. 138-141.

³⁸⁵See above, note 16.

³⁸⁶CS, coll. 643 ff.

³⁸⁷The only manuscript of the *Félire* in which he is mentioned is *Rawl. 505*, a late transcript of *Rawl. 485* (1200-1250). See the readings in *Fél.* under Dec. 18.

In this life appears the statement that Molua³⁸⁸ was founder and first abbot of Cell Dalua. Since nothing of this appears in the *Vita Moluae*, it has been customary to suppose that some other Molua was intended. This supposition, though attractive in its simplicity, is not particularly convincing. If the supporters of Brian were looking for a legendary founder for their newly endowed church, they would certainly select one whose reputation was already made. The only Molua of importance in Irish hagiographical literature is Molua of Clonfertmulloe. It is also worthy of note that, although they prepared a life of the second abbot, Flannan, they apparently prepared none of their founder. Their failure to do this seems significant in the light of the fact that practically every diocese established by the Synod of Rathbreasil was represented by a life of the founder of the leading church. One is tempted to suggest that the reason for this omission was the previous existence of a life of Molua. The territorial claims of the growing church of Killaloe, as nearly as we can tell from the boundary provisions of the Synod of Rathbreasil, had reached out to take in Clonfertmulloe. It seems rather likely that Killaloe clerics took over the traditions of Clonfertmulloe with the same gesture with which they appropriated its territory.

In view of these facts it may be permissible to suggest that the omission from the *Vita Moluae* of any reference to Killaloe is due, not to the fact that its foundation was ascribed to another Molua, but that it was written before any attempt had been made to connect the name of Molua with Killaloe. If we are right in assuming that the movement to provide Killaloe with a proper set of traditions is to be assigned to the period of Brian Borumha, the *Vita Molua* must be at least as old as the year 1000. It must be observed that this conclusion, since it is based to a certain degree upon speculations, is only tentative, but in all fairness it should also be said that it is far more

³⁸⁸This basic element of the name is *Lua*. Upon this base are built up the hypocoristic forms *Molua* (my *Lua*) and *Dalua* (thy *Lua*).

reasonable than the assumption that a monastery like Killaloe, which had for its abbot the brother of the high king of Ireland, should claim as founder an obscure person whose origin and activities were practically unknown.

An incident in the life of Bairre of Cork introduces us to another interesting set of relationships between Irish tradition and the *Vita David*. Bairre went on a pilgrimage to Rome. On his way back to Ireland he stopped at Menevia to visit David. After he had remained there for a time he became uneasy lest his monastery should decline during his absence. David gave him a miraculous horse, which carried him back over the sea to Cork. This horse was kept at Cork until he died, and there is a golden image of him in the monastery "to this day."³⁸⁹ This incident occurs in the *Vita David*, where it is elaborated somewhat by the introduction of another piece of Irish tradition. In the midst of the sea Bairre on his horse meets Brendan riding on the back of a whale.³⁹⁰

The obvious reason for the horse in the tradition of Bairre at St. David's is a relic preserved at Cork. We assume, then, that the story originated at Cork and that the writer of the *Vita David* borrowed it from the *Vita Bairre*.³⁹¹

The meeting with Brendan riding on the whale's back is the result of a curious confusion of characters. According to Irish tradition the person whom Bairre met in the

³⁸⁹VSH, I, 69, note 8. This incident appears only in the *R*¹ version of the *Vita Bairre*. The *M* and *F* lives represent a different version. There is no life of Bairre in *Cod. Sal.*, and the incident does not appear in the Irish lives. On this account Plummer concludes that the incident is taken from other sources (VSH, I, p. xxxi). Bairre seems to have entered rather late into Irish hagiographical tradition. Although he is celebrated in the *Félire* (Sept. 25) he is not mentioned in any of the lives collected by Plummer (VSH and BNE) except his own; and in the *Cod. Sal.* he is mentioned only in the life of Laisren of Leighlinn (CS, col. 796).

³⁹⁰*Vita David*, p. 18.

³⁹¹It is rather interesting to observe that the writer of the *Vita Maedoc* has his hero sent home from St. David's in the same way (*M*², VSH, II, 304). In *M*¹ it is not a horse, but an unknown animal (VSH, II, 153).

midst of the sea was Scothíne of Tascoffin and Sliabh Mairge. This fantastic meeting and the exchange of piquant jests between the two famous saints is described in one of the commentaries on the *Félire*.^{391a} In this story, however, Scothíne is walking on the water and Biarre is in a boat. Now, this Scothíne does enter into the *Vita David* under the name of Scutinus, but he appears doing something that is usually attributed to Brendan; that is, riding on the back of a sea animal.³⁹² It is not hard to see, then, how he should be confused with Brendan in this episode. Another fact that might have contributed to the confusion is that the commentary on the *Félire* which tells of the meeting between Bairre and Scothíne is followed immediately by a story of a bizarre competition in asceticism between Scothíne and Brendan.

All together the treatment of this set of characters renders it sufficiently obvious that the writer of the *Vita David* had access to a considerable amount of Irish material, and it seems clear that most of the parallels between Irish and British documents concerned with St. David's are due to borrowing on the part of Ricemarch. We know that Sulien, his father, lived for some time in Ireland; and we also know that St. David's had stood for many years in a country where Irish influence was strong. The *Vita David* as we have seen is rich in Irish material. The traditions relating to Ailbe, Maedoc, Patrick, Bairre, Scothíne, Brendan, Modomnoc, and probably Manchan and Mobi come from such varied sources that the only logical explanation of their presence in the *Vita David* seems to be that they were gathered up by the author from divers sources, placed in his hands by Sulien and by visiting Irish clerics.

5. *Conclusion*.—We have now seen something of the extent of inter-communication between Ireland and Britain during the period preceding the rise of romantic literature in England, and we have seen that the regularly constituted

^{391a}*Fél.*, p. 40.

³⁹²He was sent by Maedoc from Ireland to warn David of a plot against his life (*Vita David*, p. 17).

channels of inter-communication were used for the transmission of documents and literary materials. In the light of the foregoing facts regarding contact and community of literary tradition between Ireland and Britain it seems reasonable to grant Irish literature serious consideration (1) as a fair representation of the heroic literature (now lost) of early Britain, and (2) as a possible direct source of certain elements in the romantic literature of early mediaeval England.

Our survey ends with a little incident which may be regarded as typical of the intellectual relations between Ireland and Britain during the period under consideration.

In a tenth-century manuscript preserved in the Bamberg Library there is a copy of a letter written by an Irishman in Britain to his friends at home.³⁹³ He explains that at the court of Mermin king of Britain there is an Irish scholar named Dubhtach who has a disconcerting habit of testing his visiting countrymen by means of a cryptogram. The writer, Suadbhar, says that he and his companions had no difficulty in deciphering the puzzle but that he feels that he ought to write home and warn his friends of what they might expect when they came to Britain. The letter is addressed to the writer's most excellent master, Colgu. The writer's companions are Caincobrach, Fergus, and Domnach.

There is no need to dwell upon the obvious implications of this incident for Irish-British intellectual relations. It may be interesting, however, to inquire a little further and see if some of the persons named may be identified. Mermin is clearly Merfyn Frych (Mervin the Freckled), who ruled North Wales from 825 to 844. Colgu, to whom the letter was written, may have been either of two persons: (1) the abbot of Monasterboice, who died, according to the annals, in 864 or 865, or possibly (2) Colcu mac Connacan, abbot of Cenn Eitigh, who died in 844, and who was called "doctor of eloquence and the best historian that was in Ireland in his time." The second possibility, attractive as it is,

³⁹³Ed. Whitley Stokes in *The Academy*, July 23, 1892, pp. 71-72.

could be accepted only with great difficulty, for if he were old enough to be called "master" by his correspondent between 825 and 844, it is hard to imagine that he should have lived on until 884—especially in an age when life was short and uncertain. Dubhtach, the Irish scholar who produced the cryptogram, seems surely to be the celebrated Latinist³⁹⁴ who died 867 A.D.³⁹⁵ Another member of the group may be Caenchombrac, steward of Kildare, whose death is recorded by the annals at 834 A.D. As for Fergus, there was a Fergus of Roscarberry, who died 866.³⁹⁶

The identifications thus proposed are, of course, only tentative, but it seems too much for mere coincidence that of the six Irishmen mentioned in this document, four bear names corresponding to those of people of distinction in Ireland, living at the time when the journey took place. Whoever they may have been, the letter of Suadbhar is such conclusive evidence of literary intercourse between Ireland and Britain that, had three or four more like it come down to us, this study need never have been made.

³⁹⁴The cryptogram was composed in Greek letters and the solution was in Latin.

³⁹⁵*Four Masters.*

³⁹⁶*Four Masters.*

³⁹⁶*Ibid.*

SHAKESPEARE AND ELYOT'S *GOVERNOUR*¹

BY D. T. STARNES

Dedicated to Henry the Eighth and published in 1531, *The Boke Named The Governour* by Sir Thomas Elyot became one of the most popular books of the period. It was reprinted three times under the personal supervision of the author and at frequent intervals from the date of his death, in 1546, to 1580. Within fifty years it ran through no less than nine editions.² The author's professed purpose was to advocate a better system of education for the sons of noblemen and gentlemen—the prospective governors—and to instil into their minds those principles of morality which should regulate their conduct and enable them to be of service to their country. This purpose was in keeping with the renewed interest in education, particularly education according to the standards of the ancients, and was, therefore, congenial to the English mind of the Renaissance; and Elyot's book soon became universally known and admired. It was imitated as to title and subject matter; it was borrowed from, with and without acknowledgment; it was quoted; it was used by other writers as a compendium of illustrative materials on subjects as widely differing as shooting a long bow and ruling a commonwealth.

Budaeus's *De L'Institution du Prince* (1547) and Sturm's *De educandis erudiendisque Principum liberis* (1570) very probably were inspired by *The Governour*. Certainly Elyot's influence is obvious in the English works, *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555), Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1546),

¹This article is a part of an extensive study of Sir Thomas Elyot's vogue and influence which Dr. Theodore Stenberg and the writer have in preparation. Indebtedness to Dr. Stenberg in this paper, however, is only for certain references to studies of the Prince Hal legend.

²Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*. Cf. also Lowndes and Watt, each of whom lists ten editions of *The Governour*.

and *The Schoolmaster* (1570), and in many other books to the time of Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622).³

Elyot shows in *The Governour* an extremely wide range of reading. He was familiar with the history and literature of the ancient Greeks and Romans, from whom he draws many illustrative stories and examples; he knew the church fathers and Italian literature; he reveals a keen interest in the building up of the English vocabulary and the use of the vernacular; he sets forth a definite educational program; and he gives a picture of the ideal gentleman of the Renaissance and a conception of government—a limited monarchy—acceptable, indeed, pleasing to Henry the Eighth and to the English people. In view of the vogue and influence of *The Governour*, the nature of the contents, the prestige of its author as writer and translator, it is reasonable to suppose that the rising young dramatist, William Shakespeare, would have read *The Governour*.

My purpose in this paper is to notice agreements in thought and language of certain of Shakespeare's plays with parts of Elyot's *Governour* and to suggest a relationship, direct or indirect, between Elyot and Shakespeare. Even if the evidence for such relationship is not conclusive, the discussion, it is hoped, will contribute somewhat to our knowledge of the provenience of Shakespeare. A cursory reading reveals in many of the plays thought, imagery, political theory, implied or expressed, analogous to those found in *The Governour*. In some instances, intermediary sources would account for similarities in Shakespeare's work and that of Elyot. But when all extant intermediaries have been considered, there are still some agreements that deserve further study. These appear especially in the following plays: 2 *Henry IV* (1598); *Henry V* (1599); *Troilus and Cressida* (c. 1601 or 1602); *Coriolanus* (1609).

³See my article in *R.E.S.*, III, 37-46. Since that paper was printed Dr. T. T. Stenberg and I have collected considerable additional evidence of Elyot's prestige and vogue. See also Dr. Stenberg's article, "Sir Thomas Elyot's Defense of the Poets," in *Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926, pp. 121 ff.

Other plays which have occasional echoes of *The Governour* are *Richard II* (c. 1594); *The Merchant of Venice* (1595); *All's Well that Ends Well* (c. 1602); *Measure for Measure* (1603); *Timon of Athens* (c. 1607); *The Winter's Tale* (1611).

2 Henry IV

To readers of Shakespeare, the episode of the Chief Justice's sentence of Prince Hal⁴ for contempt of court is well known. Familiar, too, is the prince's retaliation, when, as Henry V, he reminds the Chief Justice of that incident and entrusts the reins of government in his hands while the King wages war in France. Praising the Justice for loyalty and firmness, the King quotes his father, Henry V, as follows:

. . . Happie am I that have a man so bold,
That dares do iustice on my proper sonne;
And no lesse happie, having such a sonne
That would deliver up his greatness so,
Into the hands of Iustice!

(2 Henry IV, V, ii, 108-112.)

The earliest version of this incident that has come down to us is that related by Elyot in *The Governour* to illustrate the virtue of placability. As told by Elyot, the episode is briefly as follows: the prince "in furious rage" came to the bar to demand the release of his servant who stood as prisoner. Disregarding the justice's request that the prisoner be dealt with according to the laws of the realm, the prince

⁴Fascinating as is the Prince Hal legend, any elaborate discussion of it would be irrelevant in this paper. The legend is treated at length in the following places: *The Governour*, 11, 60 ff., ed. H. H. S. Croft, 2 vols., 1883; *Shakspere's Holinshed*, 161-162, ed. W. G. Boswell-Stone; John Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chief Justices of England*, 182-184, 1894; *Chronicles and Memorials of England* (Rolls Series), II, 11, ed. C. A. Cole; *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, II (Pt. 1), 47; *Of Institutes of the Laws of England* (Pt. 3), 225, 4th edition, 1669; J. E. Tyler, *Henry of Monmouth*, 2 vols., see vol. 1; C. L. Kingsford, *Henry the Fifth*, 2 vols., see vol. 1; Wm. G. Bowling, "The Wild Prince Hal in Legend and Literature," *Washington University Studies*, Humanistic Series, XIII, 305-334.

attempted by force to take away his servant. The judge then ordered the prince, upon his allegiance, to "leve the prisoner and depart his waye." Further angered by this command, the prince came nearer the place of judgment as if to attack the judge. Unappalled, the judge promptly sentenced the prince for contempt and disobedience to the prison of the King's Bench, where he should remain until the pleasure of the King should be known. The prince accepted this sentence gracefully and went to the King's Bench. When report of this incident was brought to the King, Henry IV,

"he a whiles studienge after as a man all ravissshed with gladness, holdyng his eien and handes up towarde heven, abrayded, sayinge with a loude voice, O mercifull god, howe moche am I, above all other men, bounde to your infinite goodnes; specially for that ye have gyven me a iudge, who feareth not to minstre iustice, and also a sonne who can suffre sembably and obey iustice (p. 140)?"^{4a}

The picturesque and dramatic character of this incident, as Elyot tells it, with the climax in the King's speech would certainly have stuck in the memory of a playwright preparing to dramatize the Prince Hal legend.

Hall, a contemporary of Elyot, continues this legend; Holinshed apparently copied Hall; and the author of the *Famous Victories*, with modification, dramatized the version by Holinshed. These accounts supply details taken from some source other than *The Governour* or invented by the chroniclers; and, also, omit at least one famous speech, which Elyot recounts. In no one of these versions, however—neither in Hall, nor in Holinshed, nor yet in the old play—is there a basis for the speech of Henry IV, quoted above, in praise of the judge and the prince who is sentenced for contempt. That there is a possible source in Elyot, I have already pointed out. This episode, as told by Elyot, is reprinted in Stow's *Annales* (1562; 1600). Stow, however, definitely credits the story to Elyot, using his name and

^{4a}In this paper all references to *The Governour* are to the reprint in Everyman's Library.

putting the passage in quotations. No other extant account gives the particular speech used by Elyot and quoted by Stow.

It is noteworthy that the narrative of the Prince Hal-Chief Justice episode appears in Elyot's exposition of the nature of Majesty and of the virtues which a king should possess (Bk. II, ch. VI). And the conventional interpretation of *Henry V* ascribes to the king the very attributes which Elyot had set forth in *The Governour*.

Henry V

Additional support for the theory that Shakespeare drew from *The Governour* is to be found in *Henry V*. This play was composed very probably in the year 1599; that is, about one year after the composition of *2 Henry IV*. In a rather elaborate, but not especially apt, speech, the Archbishop of Canterbury points out how the honey bees teach

"The act of order to a peopled kingdom."

His speech follows:

Cant.

Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions,
Setting endeavour in continual motion,
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
Obedience; for so work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
They have a king and officers of sorts,
Where some like magistrates, correct at home,
Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad,
Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,
Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds,
Which pillage they with merry march bring home
To the tent-royal of their emperor;
Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
The singing masons building roofs of gold,
The civil citizens kneading up the honey,
The poor mechanic porters crowding in
Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate,
The sad-eyed justice, with his surly hum,
Delivering o'er to executors pale
The lazy yawning drone.

(I, ii, 183-204.)

Malone, Neilson,⁵ Bond,⁶ G. C. Moore Smith,⁷ and others have pointed out the similarity of Shakespeare's extended figure of the bees to a passage in Lyly's *Euphues and His England* (1581). Comparison of the lines from *Henry V* with those in *Euphues* reveals certain features in common: (1) the comparison of a bee-hive to a commonwealth; (2) the comparison of distribution of the duties in a hive to the division of labor in the kingdom; (3) the likening of the king bee to a ruler. These general similarities seem to me of no particular significance, even though it is conceded that Shakespeare had read Lyly. There is much in Canterbury's speech that the passage from Lyly does not account for. The ideas of order, degree, harmony, the mention of the "drone," of "magistrates," all in Elyot and Shakespeare, are conspicuously absent from Lyly. Not only are the ideas closer to Shakespeare, but, also the manner of expression in Elyot is closer than are the ideas and phraseology in *Euphues*.

It is noteworthy that there are ideas in the lines from *Henry V* which are not in Lyly, or in Pliny, whom Lyly freely transcribed, or in Virgil, whose fourth Georgic Pliny obviously knew. With due credit to Shakespeare's own invention, it may be said that some of these features in Canterbury's speech derive ultimately, if not directly, from Plato. Are we to assume, then, that Shakespeare had read Plato, and with suggestions from this source, introduced the figure of the bees from Lyly or Pliny? That is possible. But there is a more plausible explanation of the whole passage.

This explanation is to be found, it seems to me, in again positing Shakespeare's knowledge of *The Governour*. In the second chapter of this book the simile of the bees is used explicitly to illustrate "a perpetual figure of a iuste governance or rule." The imagery and salient details of the analogy are set forth; and reference is made, for the

⁵Cambridge edition of Shakespeare's Works, Introd. to *Henry V*.

⁶Bond's edition of Lyly, II, 44 and 498 n.

⁷Arden edition of *Henry V*, 134 n. Smith notes that Malone had pointed out this resemblance.

benefit of those who wish to find the example more amply declared, to Virgil, Pliny, and Columella. Croft shows, however, that Elyot followed Virgil.⁸ But the main point is that in *The Governour* appear the Platonic ideas of order, degree, harmony modified by Elyot's own views. In other words, we have in Elyot's description of the commonwealth of the bees, the Platonic, or neo-Platonic seasoning, which occurs in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, and is lacking in any other suggested source. There are, too, certain agreements in phraseology and arrangement, indicating a close relationship between Shakespeare and Elyot. In the quotations that follow are found in common, not only the figure of the bee-hive commonwealth, but also the ideas of obedience, degree, order, and harmony. These excerpts show also the consentaneity of thought and phrasing:

Henry V

"Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers func-
tions,
Setting endeavour in continual
motion;
To which is fixed as an aim or
butt,
Obedience."

(1, 2, 184-188.)

The Governour

Wherefore to conclude, it is
onely a publike weale, where, like
as god hath disposed the saide in-
fluence of understanding, is also
apoynted degrees and places
accordynge to the excellencie
thereof; and therto also would be
substance convenient and neces-
sarye for the ornament of the
same, which, also impresseth a
reverence and due obedience to
the vulgar people or commun-
altie. . . .

For who can denie but that all
thynges in heven and erthe is gov-
erned by one god by one perpet-
uall order, by one providence?
One sonne ruleth over the day,
and one Moon over the nyghte
(pp. 6-7, 8).

⁸*The Governour*, 1883, 2 vols., 12. A comparison of the various texts shows that Shakespeare in the figure of the bees is nearer to Virgil than he is to Pliny.

Henry V

The Governour

Immediately after his discourse on "order," Elyot writes,

... for so work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature
teach
The act of order to peopled kingdom.
They have a king, etc.
(I, ii, 183-187.)

... Others, like soldiers, armed
in their stings,
Make boot upon the summer's
velvet buds,
Which pillage they with merry
march bring home
To the tent royal of their emperor;
Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
The singing masons building
roofs of gold,
The civil citizens kneading up the
honey,

The sad-eyed justice, with his
surly hum,
Delivering o'er to executors pale
The lazy yawning drone.
(I, ii, 193-204.)

... They [the bees] have a king
and officers of sort;
Where some, like magistrates,
correct at home,
Others, like merchants, venture
trade abroad.
(I, ii, 190 fl.)

... the Bee is left to man by
nature, as it seemeth a perpetuall
figure of just governaunce or
rule; who hath amonge them one
principall Bee for theyr governour (p. 9).

The Capitayne hym selfe laboureth nat for his sustinance, but all the other for hym; he only seeth that if any drone or other unprofitable bee entreth in to the hyve and consumeth the honey, gathered by other, that he be immediately expelled from that company (p. 9).

That in a publike weale ought to be inferior governours called *Magistrates*: Whiche shall be ap-
pointed or chosen by the soveraigne governour (Cr. III, heading).

It is expedient and also nedefull that under the capitoll governour be sondry meane authorities, as it were aydyng hym in the distribution of iustice in sondry partes of a huge multitude (p. 16).

Henry V

The Governour

... For Government though high,
 and low and lower,
 Put into parts doth keepe in one
consente
*Congreeing*⁹ in a full and natural
close
Like Musicke.

(I, ii, 180-183.)¹⁰

Yet, notwithstanding, he shall
 commend the *perfect understand-*
ynge of musike, declaring howe
 necessary it is for the *better at-*
taynge the knowledge of a *publike*
weale whiche, as I before have
 saide is made of an *order of*
astates and degrees and, by rea-
 son thereof, *conteineth in it a*
perfect harmony (p. 28).

That Shakespeare was strongly impressed by Elyot's figure of the bees is, I think, evidenced by another passage in *Henry V*, rather widely separated from the lines I have already cited. In the fourth act, the king, like the captain bee in *The Governour*, has risen early and is greeting and encouraging his soldiers. Reminded by Gloucester that he is in danger of losing his life, the king replies:

Gloucester, 'tis true that we are in great danger;
 The greater therefore should our courage be,

There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
 Would men observingly distil it out.

Thus may we gather honey from the weed,
 And make a moral of the devil himself. (IV, i, 4-12.)

⁹"Congreeing" (I, ii, 182). Apparently coined by Shakespeare. G. C. M. Smith (*loc. cit.*, 133 n.) suggests that it is a combination of "congrue and agree." It is interesting to note that the 1600 Qto. has "congrueth" in slightly modified context. Did Shakespeare remember the word "congruent" in the first chapter of *The Governour*, from which he probably drew other suggestions?

¹⁰Anders (*loc. cit.*, 278) notes that Theobald pointed out a parallel to these lines in the fragmentary *Republic* of Cicero. He thinks Cicero was indebted to Plato's *Republic* (IV, 432) for the idea. Anders holds that the passage was known to the Elizabethans only from St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, II, 21, ten lines of which he quotes. Kurt Schroeder (*Platonismus in der englischen Renaissance vor und bei Thomas Eliot, Palaestra*, LXXXIII, 92) shows that Elyot's treatment of music with the idea of harmony and order derives from Plato's *Republic* (III, 8, *passim*). And the Elizabethans' knowledge of Elyot is well established. Shakespeare would have found in Elyot just the combination of ideas and figures employed in *Henry V* and elsewhere.

These lines seem to indicate that Shakespeare had still in mind the figure of the bees, and especially the following passage in *The Governour*:

. . . in the mornynge erely he [the captain bee] calleth them, makynge a noyse as it were the sowne of a horne or a trumpet; and with that all residue prepare them to labour, and fleeth abroad, *gatheryng nothyng but that shall be Swete and profitable, all though they sitte often tymes on herbes and other things that be venomous and stynkinge* (p. 9).

Not only are the situations of the bees described by Elyot and the soldiers by Shakespeare analogous, but the common idea of distilling honey from weeds or "other things that may be venomous and stynkinge" is in no other description in the sources suggested. It seems to me extremely likely that Shakespeare was writing with Elyot's description in mind.

To sum up the work in connection with *Henry V* and Elyot, we may say that in *The Governour* are found ideas of degree, order, harmony, adapted from Plato, in combination with the old figure of the bee-hive as a commonwealth. This combination does not appear in other sources (Pliny, Lyly, etc.) to which Shakespeare might have had access; but it does recur in *Henry V*. This recurrence, together with certain similarities in phraseology and words, seems to point strongly to *The Governour* as a source for several lines in *Henry V*. And it should be added that the whole context in *The Governour*, the exposition of a commonwealth with one sovereign ruler and subordinate magistrates, is in harmony with Shakespeare's political ideals, if we can judge from the plays themselves.

Troilus and Cressida

The figure of the bee-hive and the principle of order and degree as a law of nature that should obtain in government, we meet again in a long speech by Ulysses in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1601-2). There is a difference in emphasis. In *Henry V*, the dramatist expands

the simile of the bees busily laboring for their king; in *Troilus and Cressida*, though he uses exactly this figure, he drops it after three lines, and dwells upon the necessity of observing degree and order—a specialty of rule—even as the principle is illustrated in Nature. But the two speeches in *Henry V* and *Troilus and Cressida*, of practically contemporary composition, have a definite relationship, and, possibly a common source in *The Governour*.

The passage in *Troilus and Cressida* is as follows:

The specialty of rule hath been neglected;
And, look, how many Grecian tents do stand
Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions.
When that the general is not like the hive
To whom the foragers shall repair,
What honey is expected? Degree being vizarded,
The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.
The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
Observe degree, priority, and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office and custom, in all line of order;
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
In noble eminence enthron'd and spher'd
Amidst the other; whose medicinable eye
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,
And posts like the commandment of a king
Sans check to good and bad. . . .
Take but degree away, untune that string,
And, hark, what discord follows! Each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy. The bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores
And make a sop of all this solid globe.
Strength should be lord of imbecility,
And the rude son should strike his father dead.
Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong,
Between whose endless jar justice resides,
Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
Then everything includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And appetite, an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power
Must make perforce an universal prey,
And last eat up himself, Great Agamemnon,

This chaos, when degree¹¹ is suffocate,
 Follows the choking.
 And this neglected degree is it
 That by a pace goes backward, in a purpose
 It hath to climb. (I, iii, 78-129.)¹²

Before considering Elyot as a source, I wish briefly to give attention to another author as a claimant for the honor, Verplanck (quoted and endorsed in Rolfe's edition of *Troilus and Cressida*) writes:

It is possible that the poet had the thought suggested by an analogous passage, of equal eloquence, in his contemporary, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* of which the first parts were published in 1594 (p. 200).

He then quotes the passage from Hooker, without, however, insisting upon it as a source. In a study by C. M. Gayley (*Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*, 1917), the relation of Hooker to Shakespeare, especially as regards the passage under consideration, is discussed at length. Although Gayley's evidence is not conclusive, he does establish a strong presumption in favor of Shakespeare's knowledge of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. He takes note also of *The Governour* as a suggested source, and admits that Shakespeare may possibly have known Elyot's work. In his concern with the Shakespeare-Hooker relationship, however, Gayley, I think, overlooks some of the evidence of Shakespeare's knowledge of Elyot's work.¹³

¹¹From about 1595 the idea of degree is of frequent recurrence in Shakespeare's plays. See the *Merchant of Venice*, II, ix, 39-49; *Henry V*, I, ii, 180 ff.; *All's Well*, I, ii, 41-45; *Timon of Athens*, IV, i, 19 ff.; *The Winter's Tale*, II, i, 82-87.

¹²For similarities of a part of this passage to Florio's Montaigne, see G. C. Taylor's *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*, 17-18. My own opinion is that the case for Elyot, if we consider the context, is the stronger one.

¹³Gayley takes no notice of Elyot's emphasis upon the specialty of rule (Ch. 11) and his illustration in this connection of the Greek situation before Troy; he pays no heed to agreements between *The Governour* and other Shakespearean plays, such as *2 Henry IV*,

Now I am willing to concede that Shakespeare may possibly have read Hooker. The idea of order, as well as certain words and phrases in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, seems to indicate the poet's knowledge of the great churchman's work. At the same time there is in Ulysses' speech (*Troilus and Cressida*) much in common with the first two chapters in *The Governour*, and lacking in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*.¹⁴

For example, we have once again the combination of the bee-hive commonwealth and the idea of "degree, priority, and place" in government. Hooker does not employ the much-used figure. Furthermore, after a discourse on degree and rank among the four elements, and in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, Elyot concludes that the principle is applicable to man. Men are not born equal; "God gyveth not to every man like gyfts of grace, or of nature, but to some more, some lesse, as it liketh his divine maiestie." He of greatest intelligence should "be advanced

Henry V, and *Coriolanus*. And his assertion that "Shakespeare's conception of degree is not, like . . . Elyot's, based upon the tradition of aristocratic caste, but, like that of Hooker, upon merit and function" (p. 183) deserves, I think, to be qualified. It is possible to show slight inconsistency in Elyot's own statements; but there is ample evidence to prove that the trend of his thought in *The Governour* is that, though nobility may be enhanced by ancient lineage and great possessions, essentially virtue is the basis of nobility (pp. 126-128); that the responsibility of governing carries with it the greater responsibility of being worthy of governing (pp. 202, 203, 204). The purpose of Elyot's book indeed is primarily to suggest a program of training that would improve the merit and efficiency of those who are to be governors.

¹⁴For the part of this passage not explained by Shakespeare's use of Hooker, Gayley advanced the theory that Ulysses' speech on the neglect of specialty of rule and the figure of the bees may be accounted for by the dramatist's manipulation of Chapman's *Homer*; and that certain other ideas and phrases find explanation in an ingenious juggling of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresyde* and Chaucer's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.

I reject this theory because it seems (1) improbable *per se*, and (2) Shakespeare's use of *The Governour*, in which he could have found in combination the bee-hive-commonwealth figure, the discourse on specialty of rule, etc., is a simpler explanation.

in degree or place where understandynge may profite" (p. 5). "Wherefore," he says at the end of Chapter One, "it is onely a publike weale, where, like as god hath disposed the saide influence of understandynge is also appoynted degrees and places accordynge to the excellencie thereof."

The conclusion is that one man, presumably, the most intelligent and virtuous, should be the chief ruler. Then Elyot uses the whole of Chapter Two to show the necessity of concentrating authority and responsibility in one sovereign head of the nation; and he points out examples of good government under a single ruler and unsuccessful government when responsibility has been distributed. The heading of this chapter is,

That one soveraigne ought to be in a publike weale. And what damage hath happened where a multitude hath had equal authoritie without any soveraigne.

The beginning of Ulysses' speech has the following line, which serves, not only as Ulysses' thesis, but would make an admirable title for Chapter Two of *The Governour*:

The specialty of rule hath been neglected.

It is at the beginning of this chapter that the bee is used as an example of a just governaunce; then two or three pages further on occurs (what seems to me very significant in this discussion) an exposition of the situation of the Greeks before Troy under the leadership of Agamemnon, and of the trouble that was brought about by Achilles' obstinacy and refusal to obey Agamemnon. The Greeks are commended for their sound sense in choosing one man as leader and endowing him with authority; and Achilles' recalcitrancy is cited as a warning against disobedience to the chosen leader.

Here, then, we find in Elyot a setting forth of the very situation with which Shakespeare is dealing—it is this situation that is the center of Shakespeare's play. All other action in the play revolves about it. Many of the names of leading characters are employed by Elyot.

The excerpt from *The Governour* reads as follows:

The Grekes, which were assembled to reuenge the reproche of Menelaus, that he toke of the Troians by the rauissing of Helene, his wyfe, dyd nat they by one assent electe Agamemnon to be their emperour or captain: obeinge him as theyr soueraine duryng the siege of Troy? All though that they had all diuers excellent princes, nat onely equall to him, but also excelling hym: as in prowes, Achilles, and Ajax Thelemonius: in wisdom, Nestor and Ulisses, and his oune brother Menelaus, to whom they mought haue giuen equall authoritie with Agammemnon: but those wise princes considered that, without a generall capitayne, so many persones as were there of diuers realmes gathered together, shulde be by no meanes well gouerned: wherfore Homere calleth Agamemnon the Shepherde of people. They rather were contented to be under one mannes obedience, than seuerally to use theyr authorities or to ioyne in one power and dignitie; wherby at the last shuld have sourded discention amonge the people, *they being seperately enclined towarde theyr naturall souerayne lorde*, as it appered in the particuler contention that was betwene Achilles and Agamemnon for theyr concubines, *where Achilles, renouncyng the obedience that he with all other princes had before promised*, at the bataile fyrst enterprised agaynst the Troians. For *at that tyme no litell murmur and sedition was meued in the hoste of the Grekes, which nat withstanding was wonderfully pacified, and the armie unscattered by the maiestie of Agamemnon ioynynge to hym counsailours Nestor and the witty Ulisses* (pp. 11–12).¹⁵

Neither Gayley, nor any one else, as far as I know, has noted these lines in connection with this discussion. And yet they seem to me too important to be neglected. Taken in their context (the first two chapters of *The Governour*) with the figure of the bees and discourse on degree, these lines seem to establish a strong presumption of Shakespeare's knowledge of *The Governour*.

Compare the following:

¹⁵It is interesting to note that in at least three other passages in *The Governour* Elyot refers to this situation and the Greek leaders (pp. 25, 102, 284). He tells how Nestor pointed out to Agamemnon the ill results that would come from the contention (102); and he mentions the "subtile persuasions of Ulisses" (284).

*Troilus and Cressida**The Governour*

The heavens themselves, the
planets and this centre
Observe degree, priority and place
Insisture, course, proportion, sea-
son, form,
Office and custom in all line of
order;
And therefore is the glorious
planet Sol
In noble eminence enthroned and
spher'd
Amidst the other.

(1, iii, 85-90.)

Take but degree away,¹⁶ untune
that string,
And hark what discord fol-
lows! . . .
Strength should be lord of im-
becility,
And the rude son should strike
his father dead. . . .
Then everything includes itself in
power,
Power into will, will into appe-
tite;
And appetite, an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and
power,
Must make perforce an universal
prey,
And last eat up himself. Great
Agamemnon,
This chaos, when degree is suf-
focate,
Follows the choking.
And this neglect of degree is it
That by a pace goes backward in
a purpose
It hath to climb.

(I, iii, 109-129.)

. . . For who can deny but that
all *thyng* in *heven* and *erthe* is
governed by one god, by one per-
petuall *ordre*, by one providence
One Sonne ruleth over the day,
and one *Moone* over the nyghte
(p. 8).

. . . Moreover take away *ordr*
from all thynges what shuld then
remayne? Certes, nothyng
finally except some man wolde
imagine eftsones *Chaos*: which of
some is expound a *confuse mix-
ture*. Also where there is any
lacke of *ordre* nedes must be *per-
petuall conflicte*: and in thynges
subjecte to Nature nothyng
of himself onely may be nourished;
but when he hath destroyed that
wherewith he doth participate by
the *ordre* of his creacion, *he hym
selfe of necessite must then per-
isshe wherof ensueth universall
dissolution* (p. 3).

¹⁶Compare *The Governour*, 204-205, in which Elyot insists that the elimination of superiority, or degree, would result in the destruction

Troilus and Cressida

*The specialty of rule hath been
neglected;
And, look, how many Grecian
tents do stand
Hollow upon this plain, so many
hollow factions.
When that the general is not like
the hive
To whom the foragers shall all
repair
What honey is expected. Degree
being vizarded
The unworthiest shows as fairly
in the mask.*

(I, iii, 78-84.)

The Governour

Lyke to a castell or fortresse
suffisethe one owner or soverayne,
and where any mo be of like
power and authoritie seldom
cometh the worke to perfection;
or beinge all redy made, where
the one diligently overseeth and
the other neglecteth, in that con-
tention all is subverted and com-
meth to ruyne. In semblable wyse
dothe a publike weale that hath
mo chiefe governours than one:
Example we may take of the
grekes (p. 7).

Therefore god ordayned a di-
versitie or pre-eminence in de-
grees to be amonge men for the
necessary derection and preserva-
tion of them in conformitie of
lyvinge. Wherof nature minis-
treth to us example abundantly,
as in bees (p. 204).

Coriolanus, etc.

In *Shakespeare's Hand in Sir Thomas More*, R. W. Chambers argues very plausibly that there is striking similarity between the speech of Ulysses on degree and the famous 147 lines in the play of *Sir Thomas More*. He shows further that in certain passages of *Coriolanus* recur ideas and phrases common to *Troilus and Cressida*. Chambers (*op. cit.*, p. 149), writes:

To Shakespeare, and to the writer of the "147 lines" the disregard of order does not merely lead up to such commonplace scourges as war, death, and pestilence. Both More and Ulysses depict disobedience as a more terrible thing; a thing inconsistent with the order which even war demands: a thing leading straight to anarchy.

of law and government, in the physically weak becoming slaves of the strong; "and finally as bestes savage the one shall desire to slee a nother."

Notice how applicable this statement is to the first chapter of *The Governour*, parts of which have been already quoted in this paper. Chambers continues (p. 156):

But not only does Sir Thomas More share with the Bishop of Carlisle, Ulysses, and Coriolanus their passionate feeling for "degree," and their passionate fear of chaos; what is more significant is that in expressing these things they all speak the same tongue.

Chambers then quotes passages from *Coriolanus* (I, i, 168 ff.), *Sir Thomas More* (Addit., ll. 195-210), and *Troilus and Cressida* (I, iii, 109 ff.) to the effect that failure to recognize degree in the choice of a ruler and to yield obedience to the one chosen would ultimately result in chaos, and men like beasts "would feed on one another." The parallelism in thought and language of the excerpts quoted by Chambers is noteworthy; and the ideas as well as the manner of expression are characteristic of Shakespeare. But back of Shakespeare (and this is not noticed by Chambers) is a much earlier exposition by Elyot which may well have been a part of Shakespeare's reading. The insistence upon degree, the disastrous results of the impairment of authority are here in *The Governour* (1531). The passage runs:

. . . therefore god ordayned a diversitie or pre-eminence in degree to be amonge men for the necessary direction of them in conformitie of lyvinge. Wherof nature ministreth to us examples abundantly, *as in bees . . . wolves*, etc., . . . amonge whom is a governour or leader, toward whom all the other have a vigilant eye, awaytinge his signes or tokens, and according thereto preparinge them self most diligently. If we thinke that this naturall instinction of creatures unreasonable is necessary and also commendable, howe farre out of reason shall we iudge them to be that would exterminate all superioritie, extincte all governaunce and lawes, and . . . do endeavour them selves to bryng the life of man in to a confusion inevitable, and to be in moche wars astate than the afore named beestes? *Sens without governaunce and lawes the persones moste stronge in body shulde by violence constrainne them that be of lasse strength and weaker to labour as bondemen or slaves for their sustinaunce* and other necessities, the stronge men being without labour or care. Than were all our equalitie

dashed, and finally as *bestes savage the one shall desire to slee a nother* (Bk. III, ch. III, pp. 204-205).¹⁷

It should be stated that this discourse is not exceptional in *The Governour*. The idea is often repeated. It appears in the first two chapters no less than five times, and is elaborate in later chapters. "Lacke of ordre" results in "perpetuall conflicte," and ultimately in "universal dissolution" (p. 3); "without ordre may be nothing stable or permanent; and it may not be called ordre, excepte it do contayne in it degree, high and base, accordynge to the merit or estimation of the thyng that is ordred" (p. 4). "Confusion," "desolation," "dissolution" are terms repeatedly employed by Elyot to describe a condition that will obtain in a commonwealth when responsibility of governing is divided, or the common people defy the authority of the constituted ruler.

But the passage cited seems to me not the only correspondence between *Coriolanus* and *The Governour*. In a long speech of Coriolanus (III, i,) many of the ideas are not dissimilar to those found in the second chapter of Elyot's work. Compare

. . . By Jove himself!
It makes the consuls base: and my soul aches
To know *when two authorities are up*,
Neither supreme, *how soon confusion*
May enter 'twixt the gap of both and take
The one by the other. (III, i, 107-110.)

and the heading of the second chapter in *The Governour*:

That one soveraigne governour ought to be in a publike weale.
And *what damage hath happened where a multitude hath had equal*
authoritie without any soveraygne (p. 7).

Much of this chapter is devoted to illustration of the inadequacy of government by two kings, or of democracy.

¹⁷Cf. *The Governour*, p. 3, beginning "More over take away ordre from all thynges what should then remayne" and ending "he hymselfe of necessite must then perisshe whereof ensueth universall dissolution."

The conflict of Roman tribunes and senators is used in illustration by Elyot.

Further on in the same speech Coriolanus says,

. . . This double worship
Where one part does disdain with cause, the other
Insult without all reason; where gentry, title, wisdom,
Cannot conclude but by the yea and no
Of general ignorance. . . .
Nothing is done to purpose. (III, i, 142-149.)

Compare with this the following lines, in which Elyot is referring to the political situation of the Romans after they had dispensed with kings:

Consequently with communaltie more and more encroched a licence, and at last compelled the Senate to suffre them to chose yerely amonge them gouernours of theyr owne astate and condition, whom they called Tribunes: under whom they resceyued suche audacitie and power that they finally obtained the higheste authoritie in the publike weale, in so moche that often tymes they dyd repele the actes of the Senate, and to these Tribunes mought a man apele from the Senate or any other office or dignitie (Bk. I, ch. ii, pp. 12-13).

Again, in this speech, Coriolanus says:

Sometime in Greece . . .
Though there the people had more absolute power,
I say, they nourished disobedience, fed
The ruin of the state. . . . (III, i, 115-118.)

Compare with this the following from Elyot:

. . . Athenes and other cities of Grece, when they had abandoned kinges, and concluded to lyue as it were in a communaltie, which abusifly they called equalitie, howe longe tyme did any of them continue in peace? yea what vacation had they from warres—or what noble man had they which advanced the honour and weale of theyr citie, whom they did not banish or slee in prison? (p.12).

In the light of Coriolanus's speech above and of his actual banishment from Rome, this passage from *The Governour* is particularly suggestive.

As a concluding remark on *Coriolanus*, I wish to say that Elyot employs for illustration the episode of Coriolanus's

rejection of rewards, except one horse and the request for the freedom of a prisoner. The account occurs likewise in Plutarch. None the less, Elyot's use of it might well have drawn Shakespeare once more to a perusal of *The Governour*. The contents of the play would seem to confirm this theory.

To summarize the matter of this paper in general terms, I may say that the plays of Shakespeare dating from about 1595 to 1609 show in thought and expression of ideas some striking agreements with parts of *The Governour*. These agreements are best exemplified in *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *Troilus and Cressida*, plays of practically contemporary composition. On the evidence afforded by these three plays, I should be willing to rest my case. I maintain further, however, that *Coriolanus* (to say nothing of various other plays mentioned in this discussion) offers additional testimony to Shakespeare's knowledge of Elyot's most famous book *The Governour*.

AN UNNOTED ANALOGUE TO THE IMOGEN STORY

BY ROBERT ADGER LAW

Two close analogues to parts of the Imogen story of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* are to be found in recognized sources of his other plays. One of these analogues was noted by Professor Greenlaw twelve years ago, but the other appears hitherto to have passed unnoticed. Critics usually trace this story either to the ninth tale of the second day in the *Decameron*, or to the similar English version, *Westward for Smelts*, both of which possible sources are found conveniently in the Appendix to the Variorum *Cymbeline*. But neither version says aught of the heroine's romantic marriage or of her apparent death and burial. One localizes the attempted murder near Genoa; the other, near Waltham, whereas Shakespeare places it in Cambria. The two analogues may account for Shakespeare's variations.

Writing of "Shakespeare's Pastorals" in *Studies in Philology*, XIII, 139-140 (1916), Greenlaw showed that in Imogen's secret marriage, the subsequent banishment of her husband, her father's attempt to force her into a second marriage with a husband of his own choosing, her swallowing a sleeping potion, or drug, as a result of which she is taken for dead and is buried, and finally her awakening in the grave to find the supposed dead body of her husband beside her, Shakespeare was apparently reworking motifs from the Romeo and Juliet story.

As to the Cambrian background Boswell-Stone, noting the name Morgan in *Cymbeline*, suggests (*Shakespeare's Holinshed*, p. 17) that "in the old *Leir* Ragan's husband is Morgan, King of Cambria," but does not connect the scene of attempted murder in *Cymbeline* with that in the *Leir* play (published 1605). A series of corresponding situations in the two plays seems to me significant.

1. In *Cymbeline*, Act III, Scene iv, Imogen under false pretext of meeting her husband, whom she entirely trusts, is lured to a remote

"place" in Cambria, accompanied only by Pisanio. In *King Leir*, Act III, Scene v (as arranged by Fischer, *Shakespeare's Quellen: King Lear*) Leir, under false pretext of meeting his daughter, whom he entirely trusts, is lured to a thicket in Cambria, accompanied only by Perillus.

2. Arrived there, Imogen longs to see her husband. Arrived there, Leir longs to see his daughter.

3. Pisanio hands Imogen a note from her husband, ordering him to slay her for adultery. The Messenger hands Leir a note from his daughter ordering him to slay the old king, apparently for his wickedness.

4. While strongly protesting her innocence, Imogen expresses willingness to die, and bids Pisanio strike. While strongly protesting his innocence, Leir expresses willingness to die, and bids the Messenger strike.

5. Pisanio relents and refuses to slay Imogen. The Messenger relents and refuses to slay Leir.

6. Even though her life has been spared, Imogen is despondent, and is resolved not to return to court or stay in Britain. Even though his life has been spared, Leir is despondent, and is resolved not to return to court or to stay in Britain.

7. Finally, on Pisanio's advice, Imogen disguises herself by a change of garments in order to cross the sea to Italy and rejoin her husband. Finally, on Perillus's advice, Leir crosses the sea to France and disguises himself by a change of garments in order to rejoin his daughter Cordella.

Several years ago (cf. *Publ. M. L. A.*, XXVII, 117 ff.) I set forth a theory that Shakespeare used this same scene from the old *Leir* as a basis for *Richard the Third*, Act I, Scene iv, where Clarence is murdered in prison. Parallels of situation between the corresponding scenes are (1) the victim's warning dream, which he fearfully recounts at the beginning of the scene; (2) the hired murderer's threat to stab the victim in his sleep; (3) the awaking of the victim and his debate with the assassin on the justice of slaying him; and (4) the victim's suggestion that the actual procurer of the crime will reward his agent for showing mercy. Confirmatory evidence of borrowing is found (5) in the wording of many parallel passages. Not one of these similarities exists between the *Cymbeline* and the *Leir*, but significant resemblances of situation are in the Cambrian

setting, in the murderer's false-hearted engagement to meet his victim there, in the use of the letter directing the servant to commit murder and the showing of this letter to the intended victim, and in the happy denouement, brought about by the servant's relenting. If then, as I believe, Shakespeare used the one scene as source material of two plays, his variation in the choice of details each time is striking. Not less striking is the absence of any scene of attempted murder of the old monarch in Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

OTHELLO AS A MODEL FOR DRYDEN IN
ALL FOR LOVE

BY T. P. HARRISON, JR.

A major weakness of Dryden's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* results from his alteration of the rôle of Alexas, Cleopatra's facile pander: thereby the admirable self-sufficiency of Shakespeare's queen is considerably impaired. In the earlier play Alexas is a non-entity; there his part is negligible. But it seems that Dryden's Alexas was to some extent inspired by Shakespeare's Iago, and that frequently both in language and in situation the later play is further reminiscent of *Othello*. That Dryden relied explicitly upon *Othello* is suggested by the parallels now to be quoted.

When Dryden's play opens, Alexas, perplexed by the situation, is exercising his wit¹ to keep Antony in Egypt. Like Iago, here and elsewhere, he is thoroughly selfish in his every aim. Of Cleopatra, he speaks thus to her priest (I, 77-85) :

Oh, she dotes,
She dotes, Serapion, on this vanquished man,
And winds herself about his mighty ruins;
Whom would she yet forsake, yet yield him up,
This hunted prey, to his pursuers' hands,
She might preserve us all; but 'tis in vain—
This changes my designs, this blasts my counsels,
And makes me use all means to keep him here,
Whom I could wish divided from her arms
Far as the earth's deep centre.

Here Alexas has no thought of imperiling himself as he thus launches into schemes to prevent Antony's departure.

¹The confident reliance of Alexas upon his *wit* and his frequent use of the word savors of Iago.

In *Othello*, likewise, Iago's initial motive² in arousing the jealousy of Othello is free from any apprehension of personal risk. Later each is forced to exert his wit strenuously to save himself at the expense of other lives.

Act II of *All for Love* witnesses the first victory of Alexas. When, in the meeting contrived by her guiding pander, Cleopatra wins Antony to her will, she then trusts Alexas more completely than ever. Unfortunately for them both, Dolabella now arrives upon the scene, bringing with him Octavia and her children (Act III). Forthwith Antony returns to the arms of his wife, and Alexas is foiled. The exasperation of Alexas in this exigency, his loud contempt of virtue and Antony,³ all bear the marks of his apparent prototype, Iago (III, 379-381):

This downright fighting fool, this thick-skulled hero,
This blunt, unthinking instrument of death,
With plain dull virtue has out-gone my wit.

The temporary eclipse of Cleopatra prompts her servant to a move which in the end proves fatal both to himself and to his mistress: Alexas urges the Queen to feign love for Dolabella in the hope of awakening Antony's jealousy. Act IV is of first importance in its bearing upon *Othello*, however much Dryden relied, as of course he did, upon a scene in his professed source; there Antony's stupid fury is aroused by the familiarity which his subtle mistress permits Thyreus, Caesar's messenger. Yet in Dryden Dolabella is as surely the means in the machinations of Alexas as in

²Throughout this paper I have tried to speak of Iago and his sometimes disputed motives only in terms of fairly universal acceptance.

³Cf. Iago: "The Moor is of a free and open nature,
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so,
And will as tenderly be led by the nose
As asses are."

"Virtue! a fig! 'tis ourselves that we are
thus or thus."

(*Othello*, I, iii, 405-408, and I, iii, 322.)

Shakespeare Cassio is that of Iago. To his mistress Alexas whispers (IV, 78–88) :

'Tis your last remedy, and strongest too.
And then this Dolabella—who so fit
To practice on? He's handsome, valiant, young,
*And looks as he were laid for nature's bait
To catch weak women's eyes.*⁴

He stands already more than half suspected
Of loving you; the least kind word or glance
You give this youth will kindle him with love.
Then, like a burning vessel set adrift,
You'll send him down amain before the wind,
To fire the heart of jealous Antony.

Cleopatra hesitates, agrees to the plan, meets Dolabella, and pathetically carries through her part, repenting too late, however, to avoid the accusing eyes of Ventidius and Octavia, who mark their intimacy.

It is now Ventidius who pours "pestilence" into the ears of the vainly reluctant Antony,—evidence which Alexas is forced to corroborate. Ventidius discloses Dolabella's meeting with Cleopatra thus (IV, 285–291) :

And then he grew familiar with her hand,
Squeezed it, and worried it with ravenous kisses;
She blushed, and sighed, and smiled, and blushed again;
At last she took occasion to talk softly,
And brought her cheek up close, and leaned on his;
At which he whispered kisses back on hers;
And then she cried aloud that constancy
Should be rewarded.⁵

⁴Italics mine. Cf. Iago as he selects his victim:

"Cassio's a proper man:

.
*He hath a person and a smooth dispose
To be suspected, framed to make women false."*
(*Othello*, I, iii, 398, and 403–404.)

⁵Cf. Iago to Roderigo of the meeting of Desdemona and Cassio:

"Didst thou not see her paddle with the palm of his hand?

.
They met so near with their lips that their breaths
embraced together." (*Othello*, II, i, 260 and 264.)

Apart from the Alexas-Iago parallel, the following passages from Act IV are significant when compared with a scene from *Othello*. Inevitably suggestive are the bewilderment and, later, the anger of both Antony and Othello as they face the innuendoes of Ventidius and of Iago.

<i>All for Love</i>		<i>Othello</i>	
<i>Ant.</i>	A word in private. When saw you Dolabella?	<i>Iago.</i>	Ha! I like not that.
<i>Vent.</i>	Now, my lord; He parted hence, and Cleopatra with him.	<i>Oth.</i>	What dost thou say?
<i>Ant.</i>	Speak softly.—'Twas by my command he went, To bear my last farewell.	<i>Iago.</i>	Nothing, my lord: or if— I know not what.
<i>Vent.</i>	It looked indeed [<i>Aloud</i>] Like your farewell.	<i>Oth.</i>	Was not that Cassio parted with my wife?
		<i>Iago.</i>	Cassio, my lord! No, sure, I cannot think it, That he would steal away so guilty-like, Seeing you coming. (III, iii, 35-39.)
<i>Ant.</i>	More softly.—My fare- well? What secret meaning have you in those words Of "My farewell"? He did it by my order. (IV, 256-263.)	<i>Iago.</i>	Think, my lord!
		<i>Oth.</i>	Think, my lord! By heaven, he echoes me, As if there were some monster in his thought Too hideous to be shown. (<i>Ib.</i> , 105-108.)
<i>Ant.</i>	Thou dost belie her— [<i>Aloud</i>] Most basely and mali- ciously belie her.	<i>Oth.</i>	No, Iago; I'll see before I doubt; when I doubt, prove; And on this proof, there is no more but this, Away at once with love or jealousy! (<i>Ib.</i> , 189-192.)
<i>Vent.</i>	I thought not to dis- please you; I have done.		
<i>Octav.</i>	You seem disturbed, my lord. [<i>Coming up</i>]	<i>Iago.</i>	I see this hath a little dash'd your spirits.
<i>Ant.</i>	A very trifle. (<i>Ib.</i> , 270-273.)	<i>Oth.</i>	Not a jot, not a jot. (<i>Ib.</i> , 214-215.)
<i>Ant.</i>	Though Heav'n and earth Should witness it, I'll not believe her tainted. (<i>Ib.</i> , 315.)	<i>Oth.</i>	If she be false, O, then heaven mocks itself! I'll not believe't. (<i>Ib.</i> , 278-279.)

In the passages quoted both Antony and Othello struggle vainly against the convincing evidence of unfaithfulness. Finally, each hero forces the accuser to produce more certain evidence.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>Ant.</i> Hence from my sight!
 for I can bear no
 more:
 Let furies drag thee quick
 to hell; let all
 The longer damned have
 rest; each torturing
 hand
 Do thou employ, till Cleo-
 patra comes;
 Then join thou too, and
 help to torture her!
 (<i>Ib.</i>, 379-383.)</p> | <p><i>Oth.</i> Villain, be sure thou prove
 my love a whore,
 Be sure of it; give me the
 ocular proof;
 Or, by the worth of man's
 eternal soul
 Thou hadst better have
 been born a dog
 Than answer my waked
 wrath!
 (<i>Ib.</i>, 359-363.)</p> |
|--|---|

To return for the moment to the parallel rôles of Alexas and Iago: until this point in both plays the actions of these men are largely experimental; but from this point forward each, realizing his life in immediate peril, plans with the sole motive of saving himself. Alexas, thinking to have won Antony again for Cleopatra, has succeeded only in reassuring him that she is playing into Caesar's hands; both Cleopatra and Dolabella are ruined in Antony's esteem, while Octavia withdraws with dignity. Thus from the hands of the queen Alexas stands, too, in much peril. For Iago there remains but one course: at all hazards to prove Desdemona false. In the lives of both men a crisis has been reached. Before proceeding to the final phase of this comparison, there are to be disclosed separate parallels which will be sufficiently made plain by quotation.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>All for Love</i></p> <p><i>Ant.</i> Swear, swear, I say, thou
 dost not love her.
 <i>Dola.</i> No more than friendship
 will allow.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Othello</i></p> <p><i>Oth.</i> Therefore confess thee
 freely of thy sin.
 (<i>V</i>, ii, 53.)
 <i>Des.</i> . . . never loved Cassio
 But with such general war-
 ranty of heaven
 As I might love.
 (<i>Ib.</i>, 59-61.)</p> |
|--|---|

All for Love

Othello

Ant. No more?
Friendship allows thee
nothing; thou art per-
jured—
(IV, 492-495.)

Oth. Sweet soul, take heed,
Take heed of perjury;
(*Ib.*, 50-51.)

Ant. Ventidius heard it;
Octavia saw it.

Cleo. They are enemies.
Ant. Alexas is not so: he, he
confessed it;
(*Ib.*, 499-501.)

Oth. He hath confessed.
(*Ib.*, 68.)

Cleo. Aye, there's the banish-
ment! Oh, hear me!
Hear me,
With strictest justice, for
I beg no favour;
And if I have offended
you, then kill me,
But do not banish me.
(*Ib.*, 555-558.)

Des. O, banish me, my lord, but
kill me not!
(*Ib.*, 78.)

Ant. No more.—Alexas!
Dola. A perjured villain!
Ant. (to *Cleo*). Your Alexas—
yours.
(*Ib.*, 566-567.)

Des. No, by my life and soul!
Send for the man, and ask
him.
(*Ib.*, 49-50.)

Cleo.
Hear him; confront him
with me; let him speak!

Ant. I have; I have..
(*Ib.*, 570-571.)

Oth. He hath confessed.
(*Ib.*, 68.)

The foregoing parallels, unconnected and inconsistent as they are, are less convincing than the major parallel, which is now to be concluded.

After the total failure of Alexas' device to use Dolabella to advantage, he turns to meet the fury of the disappointed queen (V, 17-27):

Art thou there, traitor?—Oh!
 Oh, for a little breath, to vent my rage—
 Give, give me way, and let me loose upon him.
Alex. Yes, I deserve it, for my ill-timed truth.
 Was it for me to prop
 The ruins of a falling majesty?
 To place myself beneath the mighty flaw,
 Thus to be crushed, and pounded into atoms,
 By its o'erwhelming weight? 'Tis too presuming
 For subjects to preserve that wilful pow'r
 Which courts its own destruction.⁶

Cleopatra, like Othello, is mollified by this profession of self-pity; but, also like Othello, she conjures Alexas to undo the mischief (V, 56) :

Look well thou do't; else—

(Othello is more explicit in his threats to Iago.) After the desertion of the Egyptian galleys to Caesar, the queen's now fervid desire to have her name cleared before her lover is met by Serapion, who counsels her to dispatch the trembling Alexas to Antony (V, 116–121) :

He who began this mischief,
 'Tis just he tempt the danger. Let him clear you:
 And, since he offered you his servile tongue,
 To gain a poor precarious life from Caesar,
 Let him expose that fawning eloquence,
 And speak to Antony.

Thus forced to approach Antony, Alexas is desperate (V, 137–139) :

⁶*Cf.* Iago to Othello:

"God be wi' you; take mine office. O wretched fool,
 That livest to make thine honesty a vice!
 O monstrous world! Take note, take note, O world
 To be direct and honest is not safe.
 I thank you for this profit, and from hence
 I'll love no friend, sith love breeds such offence."

(*Othello*, III, iii, 375–380.)

Let me think:

What can I say to save myself from death?

No matter what becomes of Cleopatra.

Iago's equally perilous efforts to save himself are too well known. At a critical juncture, immediately after Roderigo's murder, Iago muses:

This is the night

That either makes me or fordoes me quite.

(*Othello*, V, i, 128-129.)

Alexas' announcement of Cleopatra's death is as ineffective as it is fatal, both to Antony and to the queen. Their deaths correspond to those of Othello and Desdemona; and both Alexas and Iago are brought in bound to view the dismal scene of their making. At the last when Dryden concentrates upon the famous lovers, Alexas is forgotten. However, Alexas remains as Dryden's adaptation, not of his mild-eyed prototype in *Antony and Cleopatra*, but of his stronger forbear, Iago.

MILTON'S EARLIER SAMSON

BY EVERT MORDECAI CLARK

On the point of Milton's earlier interest in the story of Samson as a possible subject for heroic song, Professor Moody, following Masson,¹ remarks: "At that time, apparently, he considered it little, since the jottings² are unaccompanied by any hints as to treatment."³ But the prominence of this subject in the poet's mind during the period of 1639 to 1642 was somewhat greater than these critics have allowed. Their conclusions about the matter do not take account of the fact that in addition to entering in his notebook the items, "XVII. Samson marrying, or in Ramach-Lechi; Judges XV. XVIII. Samson Pursophorus, or Hybristes, or Dagonalia, Judges XVI,"⁴ Milton also metamorphosed the narrative of Samson into a kind of political allegory, which he sent abroad in printed form as early as the beginning of February, 1642.

In the following study of Milton's earlier *Samson*, I shall have in mind the two-fold purpose of pointing out what the passage reveals about the author's mind and art in 1642 and of indicating some of the "hints as to treatment" which commentators seem to have overlooked but which the poet did not forget to follow up in his subsequent play. First of all, however, it will be of use to review the situation with which Milton's interesting allegory deals.

Since November, 1640, the Long Parliament had been at work uprooting absolutism in church and state. Within a year it had executed Strafford, secured itself against involuntary dissolution, taken the tenure of judges out of the

¹*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, III, 86: "These subjects, however, do not seem then to have had such attractions for Milton as some of the others in the list; for they are merely jotted down, . . . whereas to some of the others . . . are appended sketches of the plot, or hints for the treatment."

²*Cambridge Manuscript*.

³*Milton's Complete Poems*, Student's Cambridge Edition, p. 283.

⁴Percival, *Milton's Samson Agonistes*, p. x.

royal hands, abolished the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber, restrained illegal taxation, demanded control of the militia, secured the king's agreement to disband the army, and got possession of the Tower. In church affairs reform had moved with much less unanimity and speed. Archbishop Laud had been impeached in December and imprisoned in March; but the Root and Branch Petition of December had met with determined opposition in Parliament from conservatives who favored church-reform but not the abolition of episcopacy. The House of Peers, less friendly with the bishops than concerned about their own security as a body, had continued to defeat the Commons in their motions to deprive the bishops of all legislative and judicial power. Thus the Exclusion Act of March and the Vane-Cromwell Bill of May had come to naught. In July the Root and Branch Bill had been dropped by common consent in view of the king's projected trip to Scotland and the increasing need of presenting a solid Parliamentary front. But something at least toward ecclesiastical reform had been accomplished: thirteen bishops had been impeached on August 4; and on September 1, before recessing, Parliament had purged the church of Laudian innovations.⁵ And now, upon the reconvening of Parliament in October, the year of controversy between royal prerogative and Parliamentary power approached its crisis. All issues were concentrated in this one: would

⁵Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, p. 197: "It is this day ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled: That the churchwardens . . . remove the communion table from the east end of the church; . . . and that they take away the rails and level the chancels . . . : That all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary, shall be taken away and abolished; and that all tapers, candlesticks and basins be removed from the communion table: That all corporal bowing at the name of Jesus, or towards the east end of the church, chapel, or chancel, or towards the communion table be henceforth forborne . . . : That the Lord's Day shall be duly observed and sanctified; all dancing or other sports, either before or after divine service, be forborne and restrained; and that the preaching of God's Word be permitted in the afternoon."

Charles yield again, or would he continue to defend the bishops and the established church? The king's reply⁶ left no doubt that he had chosen the latter course. The Grand Remonstrance was laid before the king on December 1. On December 30 the bishops, still clinging to their seats in the upper House, were arrested for contempt and sent to join Archbishop Laud in the Tower. The passing of the Exclusion Bill followed in February as a matter of course. Failing in his bold attempt on January 4 to arrest the five members who were about to launch impeachment proceedings against the queen, Charles withdrew to the north to prepare for the conflict which was now inevitable and near at hand.

It was during this thrilling year of 1641 that Milton, perceiving, as he thought, "that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition," led solely by the "love of truth" and "reverence for Christianity," put aside his cherished art to bring "timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents."⁷ Having made this momentous decision, he addressed himself to his new task with characteristic zeal. In May, 1641, he sent forth *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline*; in June, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*; the *Animadversions* in July. The crisis precipitated in the fall by the king's defiant stand set Milton to work upon *The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty*, an elaborate treatise dealing vigorously and learnedly with the issue of the hour. In this fourth anti-episcopal tract, the note struck lightly in *Comus*, more

⁶Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 202: "The first [Charles's affection] I shall express by governing you all according to the laws of this kingdom, and in maintaining and protecting the true Protestant religion, according as it hath been established in my two famous predecessors' times, Queen Elizabeth and my father; and this I will do, if need be, to the hazard of my life and all that is dear to me" (Speech to the Recorder of London, November 25, 1641).

⁷*The Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Bohn, I, 258. Subsequent references to the *Prose Works* are to the Bohn Edition.

plainly in *Lycidas*, and insistently in the three preceding pamphlets is sounded with ominous finality. Episcopacy is doomed; but the king, if he will, may come out before the structure falls. In the allegorical passage which follows, Milton points out to him a way of escape and at the same time holds up the picture of an ideal king:

I cannot better liken the state and person of a king than to that mighty Nazarite Samson; who being disciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminished and unshorn, he may with the jawbone of an ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, suppress and put to confusion thousands of those that rise up against his just power. But laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of prelates, while he sleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and weighty tresses of his law, and just prerogatives, which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which, as those Philistines, put out the fair and far-sighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grind in the prisonhouse of their sinister ends and practices upon him: till he, knowing this prelatical rasor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right; and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself.⁸

Such was Milton's indirect but earnest appeal to Charles as England stood on the verge of civil war. Quite clearly he announces his as yet unbroken allegiance to a properly-limited and law-abiding king, but as clearly intimates that his allegiance is conditioned upon the king's behavior with respect to law and right. He boldly warns the king that he must separate himself from the prelates and cease to flout Parliament and the law or the consequences will be dire; that, indeed, a penalty has already been incurred and must be paid. The king had yet to run his course through bloodshed and broken faith before the conception of justifiable tyrannicide should find lodgment in Milton's mind.

⁸*Prose Works*, II, 506.

As to the church, Milton is here seen occupying middle ground between the orthodox episcopacy to which in college days he had given at least a formal assent and the independency to which he was shortly to subscribe. He stands shoulder to shoulder with the Root and Branch abolitionists in Parliament so far as episcopacy is concerned. As the context of the passage shows, as a substitute for that church he is flatly in favor of the Presbyterian system,⁹ to which Parliament just then stood more or less committed.

In turning from the historical and autobiographical significance of the allegory to its literary aspects and relationships, one observes, first of all, that the passage is a characteristic specimen of the poet's ardent, imaginative prose. Milton fully realized as he deliberately turned from poetry to pamphleteering that "it were a folly to commit anything elaborately composed to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times,"¹⁰ and "that if solidity have leisure to do her office, art cannot have much."¹¹ Nevertheless the artist now and then, as in this instance, asserts himself even in Milton's controversial prose. One admires the deftness with which the story of the Nazarite is suggested rather than retold and is made to apply to England's erring king. The biblical and the political threads of the narrative are nicely proportioned and skilfully intertwined. The passage is heightened by the use of varied figures of speech, not the least impressive of which is the bold but implied antithesis between the king as he is and the king as Milton thinks he ought to be. Thus in its warmth and color and ingenuity of structure and expression the excerpt reminds us that the pamphleteer is still a poet, though he is "sitting here below in the cool element of prose."¹²

⁹*Prose Works*, II, 490: "Little is it that I fear lest any crookedness, any wrinkle or spot should be found in presbyterian government. . . . Every true protestant . . . will confess it to be the only true church government."

¹⁰*Ibid.*, II, 476.

¹¹*Ibid.*, II, 477.

¹²*Ibid.*, II, 477.

We are reminded, too, by this political application of the ancient story, of Milton's proneness to relate his art, directly, or indirectly, to contemporary people and affairs. His prose works deal with problems and conditions of the age. Allegorically, the evils of the court and of the church are exposed in *Comus* and *Lycidas*. His English sonnets are prevailingly occasional. One may not go so far as to believe that Milton's "true place is with the great political philosophers of his race" or that "*Paradise Lost* is the epic of the English state"¹³ and yet be able to agree with the more moderate view that "it was the course of national events and Milton's participation in them, and his ultimate exclusion from them, that prepared the ground" for *Paradise Lost* and "made inevitable his final choice"¹⁴ of the epic form. In its political aspects *Samson Agonistes* is a dramatization of the apparent death and predicted resurrection of the Good Old Cause. Thus the play, as a political allegory, is seen to be the following up of one of the "hints as to treatment" that had been employed by Milton long before in his allegory of Samson and the ideal king.

Milton's lifelong interest in dramatic composition was especially pronounced during the period between his return from Italy in 1639 and the closing of the theaters in 1642. At the very moment of his writing the particular passage under review, he was seriously considering "whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation,"¹⁵ and even reshaping epic materials into dramatic form.¹⁶ Indeed, if one should care to follow the liberal method of interpretation employed by Milton, who detected

¹³Haller, W., "Order and Progress in *Paradise Lost*," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXV, 225.

¹⁴Rand, E. K., "Milton in Rustication," *Studies in Philology*, XIX, 130.

¹⁵*Prose Works*, II, 479.

¹⁶See, for example, Milton's four drafts of a tragedy, *Adam Unparadized*, the opening lines of which were written as early as 1642 (Masson, *op. cit.*, II, 20).

“a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon” and conjectured that “the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy,”¹⁵ he might fairly conceive that the allegorical sketch of Samson and the king is also implicitly a drama. The setting would be Stuart England of 1641 and 1642; the protagonist, Charles himself; the dramatic struggle, already under way and near its crisis, externally, between the king and prelates united and such champions of law and Parliament as Cromwell, Hampden, and Pym; subjectively, between the king’s inherent sense of right and his stubborn loyalty to the established church; the dénouement, inevitable disaster for episcopacy or kingship, and perhaps for both. It suffices, however, to point out these dramatic elements of the allegory and to suggest that between them and the corresponding elements of *Samson Agonistes* there is a certain parallelism which throws at least the light of antecedent probability upon some disputed points of technique in the later play.

In both, the biblical groundwork of the plots—the career of Samson—is the same. In each, God’s appointed champion runs a course of irresistible triumph, delusion, defeat, repentance, restoration, atonement, and final victory in suffering or death. The intermediate steps by which he ascends from the prison-house of despair to the temple of triumph are clearly marked. In each the hero, on coming to himself, sets out to renew his allegiance to God, and is assisted and restored by omnipotent power and grace. But in neither case does he escape the penalty of his sin. Thus the earlier version states: “till he, knowing this prelatical razor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right; and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself.” In *Samson Agonistes* these steps are more elaborately set forth. Samson repents, withstands the old temptation, is roused to a consciousness of power and of divine approval, and, thus restored, is allowed to accomplish the mission of his life. The episodes of Manoa, Dalila, and

Harapha are the indispensable stages of Samson's restoration as a champion of God.

But resurrecting and espousing the opinion of Samuel Johnson that this drama "must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson,"¹⁷ Professor Tupper condemns the plot of *Samson Agonistes* and disposes of the intermediate incidents as "padding." Particularly the episode of Dalila, he feels, "does not bear upon the spiritual course of the drama as contained in the beginning and the end."¹⁸ The persistent fallacy arose, of course, from Johnson's misapprehension as to the dénouement, which he considered to be the death of Samson, but in which death is really incidental and victory the dominant thought. That the intermediate episodes constitute the necessary preparation for the hero's spiritual triumph, which in the biblical account and in both of Milton's versions is the real objective of the story, has already been established by Professor Baum¹⁹ and others. I wish merely to suggest that Milton's earlier handling of the story supports the view that *Samson Agonistes* has a definite and logical middle as well as a beginning and an end.

In their political aspects the plots of allegory and drama are, as I have said, analogous but not identical. In each the state, as represented by its divinely-sanctioned head, is depicted as partially or utterly dethroned, as coming to itself and renouncing its evil ways, as reinvested with the prerogatives of sovereignty, and as finally triumphing over all its foes. The fact that Milton made a political application of the story in 1642 adds probability to the interpretation of *Samson Agonistes* as a political allegory of the

¹⁷*The Rambler*, No. 139, 1751. Johnson's opinion late in life remained the same: "The intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe" ("Life of Milton," *Works*, ed. 1820, IX, 169).

¹⁸"The Dramatic Structure of *Samson Agonistes*," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXV, 381.

¹⁹"*Samson Agonistes* Again," *P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 354-371.

temporary downfall and ultimate triumph of the Puritan state.

But characterization in *Samson Agonistes* as well as plot has of late been more or less condemned. The character of Samson in particular has suffered at the hands of recent critics. Thus one commentator finds the hero susceptible, "clownish," "unintelligent," and declares that Samson, judge of Israel, "has obviously missed his calling."²⁰ Another finds that the hero "has been granted an unwieldy strength of body but impotence of mind, and because he has lacked wisdom he has been overcome by the weakest of subtleties."²¹ Elsewhere²² I have discussed at length the character of Milton's Samson. Suffice it here to say that in neither allegory nor play has Milton represented Samson as unheroic, much less as a sensualist or a fool. The tendency of recent critics to depreciate the hero has arisen, it would seem, from a misconception of the biblical character, failure to differentiate the biblical and the Miltonic conceptions of the hero, or the overlooking of the fact that the lines of the drama that emphasize the weakness and folly of the protagonist are Samson's bitter but dramatically appropriate words of self-reproach. To Milton's mind in 1642, Samson was "that mighty Nazarene, . . . who being disciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection," a "god-like" man, magnificent in body, mind, and soul, weak only at one point and for a little while, but soon repentant, once more loyal, and finally irresistible as an instrument of God. Such Milton's conception of the hero essentially remains in the subsequent play. It is inconceivable that the heroic figure

²⁰*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 356-357.

²¹Curry, W. C., "Samson Agonistes Yet Again," *Sewanee Review*, July, 1924.

²²In a paper entitled "Milton's Conception of Samson," read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association at Louisville in December, 1927.

delineated in 1642 should have dwindled in the poet's later estimation to the dimensions of a sensualist, a weakling, and a dolt.

The real weakness of *Samson Agonistes* as a tragedy, however, thinks Professor Baum despite his entertaining but depreciatory remarks about the hero, consists not in defects of plot or characterization but resides in the very nature of its theme, which he defines as "Samson's double failure as a Nazarite and as a leader of his people."²³ This definition of theme seems strangely inconsistent with the excellent point which he goes on to make, that "the final catastrophe is not defeat but reconciliation."²⁴ The real theme of *Samson Agonistes*, as I have intimated in preceding remarks about plot and characterization, is not failure but ultimate, tranquillizing spiritual success. As Professor Jebb said twenty years ago, "the central idea of Samson's history, and, in harmony with that of history, the central idea of Milton's poem, is the idea of a national champion, first victorious, then abased, then finally triumphant in a national cause."²⁵ This note of victory is especially prominent in the earlier sketch. Underlying Milton's conception of Samson as an erring but divinely-assisted man, and interwoven in both his versions of Samson's career, is the thought of greatest prominence in the poet's mind and major poems: a conviction of the intimate relationship of man and God and of the victory which man and God with blended might accomplish. In the light of Milton's consistent optimism, it is impossible to accept the view that failure is the theme of either allegory or play.

The subject of Samson, then, contrary to accepted views, had considerable prominence in Milton's mind during the important transitional period of 1639 to 1642. The "hints as to treatment" that Masson and Moody failed to find

²³*Op. cit.*, XXXVI, 358.

²⁴*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 368.

²⁵Jebb, Sir R. C., "Samson Agonistes and the Hellenic Drama," December 10, 1908, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, v. III, p. 7.

appear in the dramatic allegory of Samson and the king, which, together with the Cambridge jottings, is indeed a kind of *Samson Agonistes* in embryo. A comparison of Milton's tragedy with its long-neglected²⁶ prototype leaves one a little surer than before that *Samson Agonistes* is less significant as an imitation of Greek tragedy than as an ethical, Christian, and political dramatic poem; that its plot is better constructed, its central figure more heroic, and its theme much loftier than some critics have allowed; and, finally, that the possibilities of an allegorical and dramatic application of the story of Samson to English national affairs were perceived by Milton some decades earlier than has commonly been supposed.

²⁶Raleigh quotes the passage and observes that "the theme of *Samson Agonistes* had thus already taken possession of Milton's imagination when he wrote his first prose tractates"; but he concludes that "this ingenious allegorical application naturally finds no place in the grave poem of Milton's latest years" (*Milton*, p. 51). Saurat remarks in connection with the passage, "Let us notice by the way that the subject of *Samson* has already caught Milton's attention" (*Milton: Man and Thinker*, p. 44).

BROCKDEN BROWN'S FIRST ATTEMPT AT JOURNALISM

BY DAVID LEE CLARK

So far as there is any record, the history of American periodicals¹ before 1800 is a tale of ambitious endeavors and triumphant failures. The idea of an American magazine for all the Colonies was original with Benjamin Franklin. He conceived a plan for a general repository, patterned after the *Gentleman's Magazine* of London; and on November 13, 1740, published his proposals. But his rival, Andrew Bradford, anticipated him by three days with a hurriedly assembled sheet under the title of the *American Magazine*, the first number of which appeared in January, 1741. The rival editors at once fell to ridiculing each other in wretched doggerel, and the expected happened: Bradford's magazine died a natural death with the third issue, Franklin's with the sixth. Of the entire sixteen monthlies of the Colonial period not one, with the possible exception of the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* (Philadelphia, 1757-1758) gained any importance. That, under the leadership of the Reverend William Smith, first provost of the College of Philadelphia, is said to have had a considerable literary and financial success. But the magazine came to an abrupt end on Smith's departure for England. The average life of the Colonial magazines was less than fourteen months, and not one celebrated its third birthday. Furthermore, these periodicals hardly deserve the name *American*, for they inadequately reflected the life and the temper of the Colonies. In form and in subject-matter they were conscious imitations of the journals of the mother-country.

During the Revolution all literary publications ceased, but from 1783 until the close of the century a strong

¹Unless otherwise indicated the term *periodical* is herein used of monthly magazines only.

demand was created by the patriotic effusions with which the new republic was flooded. Forty or more monthlies appeared during these seventeen years, but only four were really successful. Two of these—the *Columbian Magazine* (1786–1792) and the *American Museum* (1787–1792)—were published in Philadelphia; the *Massachusetts Magazine* (1789–1796) in Boston; and the *New York Magazine* (1789–1796) in New York City. Here for the first time one finds a native product. Although, like their predecessors, these magazines, in form at least, were imitations of contemporary British journals, they made a conscious effort to encourage and foster a purely American literature; and it was through the pages of these four periodicals that the productions of vigorous native pens reached a large number of eager readers. It is not too much to say that these magazines started America on the road to literary independence.

For several reasons, however, these four journals found the cultivation of a native literature an almost herculean labor. There was a general lack of culture; only a handful of men had the inclination or the courage to devote themselves to literature or to scholarship. A few like Brackenridge and Brown made heroic attempts to refute the British contention that Americans, when separated from the motherland, would speedily degenerate into illiterate ourang-outangs. Leading British critics contended that since Americans were primarily money-grabbers they could never rise to the higher reaches of culture. But though the germ of truth in this charge made the judicious grieve, then as now, the grief was not sufficiently deep or widespread to rouse the youthful or the slothful to independent effort. More specifically, lack of an international copyright law forced these four thriving magazines, in competition with less fastidious publications, to resort to many “selected” articles. Again, imperfect communications between the various literary centers had a bad effect upon circulation—on all sides was heard complaint from subscribers about delays in the delivery of magazines. Finally, perhaps the most serious handicap of all was the failure of the newly

established government to make just and adequate postal laws. The editor of the *Columbian* declared in December, 1792, that the chief reason for the demise of that valuable periodical was the law that prohibited the circulation of monthly magazines at a rate lower than that on private letters. Matthew Carey's *American Museum* came to an untimely end in the same month and year and for the same reason.

Nevertheless, in the face of such untoward circumstances and with a knowledge of others' failures, Charles Brockden Brown at the solicitation of the New York Friendly Club undertook the editorship of a purely literature magazine. He first mentions the project in a letter to his brother James, on August 25, 1798, in which he says that he is preparing to publish *Wieland* and the proposals for a magazine. *Wieland* appeared in September, but the yellow fever, of which his intimate friend, Elihu Hubbard Smith, died and Brown himself was seriously ill, held up the other undertaking. We learn no more of it until in December of the same year Brown writes to his brother Armit: "Eight of my friends here, men in the highest degree respectable for literature and influence, have urged me so vehemently to undertake the project of a magazine, and promise their contributions and assistance to its success, that I have written and published proposals. Four hundred subscribers will repay the annual expense of sixteen hundreds dollars. . . . All above four hundred will be clear profit to me; one thousand subscribers will produce four thousand five hundreds dollars, and deducting the annual expense will leave two thousand seven hundred [sic]. If this sum be attainable, in a year or two you will allow that my prospect is consoling."²

Frequently in America during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century the literary clubs sponsored their own magazines.³ Concerning such clubs in New York at this

²*Life of Charles Brockden Brown*, by William Dunlap, Vol. I, p. 240.

³The idea of a weekly magazine as a mouthpiece for the New York Friendly Club had been in the minds of Dunlap, Johnson, and Smith

time information is hazy and fragmentary. According to Dunlap many of them existed in America for the purpose of opening the highways to truth and creating and fostering an American literature that would be independent of Europe and expressive of American ideals. "Bands of pioneers," he said, "were formed, who aided each other in removing rubbish and hewing down prejudices of stubborn texture from long growth, and mischievous from the veneration bestowed upon worthless old age."⁴ Dunlap was connected with the pathmakers who resided in New York. He was "intimately associated with Elihu Hubbard Smith, Charles Brockden Brown, James Kent, Edward Miller, Samuel L. Mitchill, Samuel Miller, William Johnson, John Wells. . . . The young men above mentioned, with Richard Alsop, Mason Cogswell and Theodore Dwight, of Connecticut, formed a club, projected many literary works, and executed some. A magazine was supported for a short time . . . a review was published. Some of these gentlemen had previously been associated under the name of the Philological Society. Perhaps to this association, of which Noah Webster was a member, may be attributed those labours which have given to the world the most perfect English dictionary in existence."⁵ In a sketch of Dunlap's life in the *New York Mirror*⁶ it is said that the Philological Society was organized about 1788 with a membership of Federalists, including Mitchill, Webster, Hoffman, Livingston, Wetmore, Johnson, Cutting, Morton, and Woolsey. This society, we are told, perished about 1793, and from its ashes sprang the Friendly Club, "which, with some of the members of the first, enrolled the names of

for some time before Brown took up his residence in the city. Dunlap records in his unpublished Diary (now in the Library of Yale University) for June 1, 1798: "See Smith & talk of a weekly magazine for this place, to be printed by the Swords for their emolument, we having all power over it." But we shall see that the plan of a weekly magazine soon gave way to the idea of a monthly.

⁴*History of the American Theatre*, Vol. I, p. 220.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*The New York Mirror*, Vol. X, pp. 265-266.

Edward Miller, Elihu Hubbard Smith, and Charles Brockden Brown." James Grant Wilson's *Memorial History of the City of New York*, more readable than reliable, says: "Nothing worthy of the name of a club appeared till, just before the war of the American Revolution, the Friendly Club was formed with James Kent, William Dunlap, Charles Brockden Brown [truly precocious!], and Anthony Bleecker as leading spirits. Several of its members conducted the first medical journal in America, and its weekly receptions were attended by the intellect and wit of the city, George Washington often being a visitor. But the club finally went to pieces in the clash between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists members, some of them founding the Drone Club in 1792 as a successor of the Moot Club of ante-Revolutionary days, for the debate of purely technical questions, chiefly in the law."⁷ Again, Martha J. Lamb in her *History of the City of New York* remarks of Brockden Brown that he was a member of the Drone Club, "a social and literary circle, instituted about 1792 as an aid to intellectual improvement. Its membership was recognized by proofs of authorship."⁸ Miss Lamb copies almost literally, but without acknowledgment, from Dr. John W. Francis's *Old New York*. It is also to be noted that a Friendly Club existed at Hartford as early as 1785, and included as members Trumbull, E. H. Smith, Barlow, Dwight, and Alsop. These gentlemen contributed to the *Anarchiad* and the *Echo*.

Surely here is confusion worse confounded, and a history of the clubs of this stirring period is much needed. In all this mass of confusion one thing, however, stands sure: the purpose of these clubs was mainly literary. We have also seen that the membership of each of them included practically the same group of leading intellects of the region.

The eight respectable and influential friends of whom Brown writes were members of the New York Friendly Club. That club, however, was composed of more than

⁷*Memorial History of the City of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 468.

eight members. In the *Life of Samuel Miller* occurs the following: "After the yellow fever had passed away, Mr. Brown's friends in New York, the Friendly Club in particular, busied themselves to find him employment, and a means of support, agreeable to his literary tastes. He was accordingly encouraged to establish 'The Monthly Magazine and American Review,' the first number of which bears the date of April, 1799."⁹ We find Dr. Miller writing, December 24, 1798, to Jedidiah Morse, America's first geographer and father of S. F. B. Morse, to solicit his influence in behalf of the proposed periodical. The letter is valuable, for it throws much light upon Brown and his magazine. "You may rest assured," he said, "that it is not an ordinary, nor a catchpenny, plan. The principal editor is a gentleman of undoubted learning and taste, who will devote a large proportion of his time to the work; and he will be supported and assisted by an association, which includes some of the first literary characters in the city; so that I think that you may, with perfect confidence, recommend the work to the patronage of your friends, as one that will be ably conducted, and as one that will be decidedly favourable to the interests of morality and religion. I have no doubt that it may and will be honourable and useful to the United States."¹⁰ But these assurances failed to inspire the confidence of the Reverend Mr. Morse. Perhaps because of the revolutionary spirit that informs Brown's youthful *Alcuin* and the known radicalism of certain members of the Friendly Club, Morse feared that the journal would be too democratic. On April 3, 1799, Dr. Miller, himself a red-hot Democrat, replied to this objection: "The principal editor of the *American Monthly Magazine* is a Mr. Charles B. Brown, lately of Philadelphia. You may, I believe, confide in him as a Federalist. Of his learning and taste there can be no question. There is a society, or club, of some ten gentlemen, who meet once a week to consult

⁹*Life of Samuel Miller*, p. 320.

¹⁰*Life of Samuel Miller*, by Samuel Miller, New York, 1869.

about the magazine, and concert plans to make up its contents and to promote its interests. Of these ten, seven are decided Federalists; the other three are a little democratic, but remarkably mild and moderate man. I am not at liberty to mention their names, but am persuaded you need be under no apprehension respecting the work in a political point of view."¹¹ A statement in the *Memorial of the Life and Character of John Wells* throws further light upon the nature of the Friendly Club and its magazine project. "In the early part of his career," we read, "he [Wells] was attached to a literary society in New York, composed of intimate friends, under the humble appellation of the *Friendly Club*, whose existence was continued for several years. The meetings were weekly . . . with the object to discuss literary subjects and improve themselves in the art of composition by writing essays and criticisms; and in assisting to sustain a periodical review under the direction of one of its members."¹² Again, in a *Sketch of the Life of Dr. Edward Miller* the work of the club is further elucidated. "Never," it is said, "was a place of appointment of this nature, repaired to with greater avidity, or the pleasures of unshackled intellectual intercourse more highly enjoyed. All form was rejected by the 'Friendly Club' and but one rule adopted, which was that the member who had the pleasure of receiving his friends at his house, should read a passage from some author, by way of leading conversation into such a channel as might turn the thoughts of the company to literary discussion or critical investigation. This was, for the greater portion of the time it existed, truly a 'friendly club'; but after the continuation of most perfect and cordial communion for a few years, the demon, whose infuriated and blasting influence is unceasingly exerted to mar the blessings of our envied country, party politics, found his way among the 'friendly club' and the institution died a lingering death."¹³

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*The Memorial of the Life and Character of John Wells*, pp. 45-46.

¹³*Sketch of the Life of Dr. Edward Miller*, Vol. I, p. 8.

According to Dunlap the club consisted of the following gentlemen: Elihu Hubbard Smith, physician and poet; William Johnson, reporter to the New York Supreme Court and a classical scholar; James Kent, professor of law at Columbia and author of the *Commentaries*; Edward Miller, noted surgeon and one of the editors of the *Medical Repository*; Samuel Miller, anti-slavery agitator, author, and divine; Samuel Latham Mitchill, noted ichthyologist, professor of chemistry at Columbia, and United States Senator; Anthony Bleecker, master of the Court of Chancery and an anti-slavery agitator; Charles Adams, lawyer and second son of John Adams; John Wells, a lawyer; William W. Woolsey, classical scholar, merchant, and brother-in-law of William Dunlap; William Dunlap, artist, poet, dramatist, theatrical manager, and merchant; and Charles Brocken Brown.¹⁴

The *significance* of the club lies in the fact that on its roster were the names of New York's young intellectuals and her leading professional men. The versatility and the sanity here represented worked a most salutary influence upon Brown's rather morbid outlook upon life. When he left Philadelphia in 1793, a morose, unsociable young man, his mind was definitely made up for the profession of letters; but that mind was full of undigested knowledge and radical tendencies. Brown needed sorely the stimulus and the corrective of just such a group as the Friendly Club. Indeed, his intimacy with the members of the club had a formative and an abiding influence on him. In company with them at various informal gatherings, the melancholy Jaques was made to cast his coat. To the chastening influence of his association with such conservative men as James Kent and Samuel Mitchill, Brown's *Journal* bears unmistakable witness. We read: "Last evening spent with the clubbists at K's. Received from the candour of K. a severe castigation for the crimes of disputatiousness and dogmatism. Hope to profit by the lesson that he taught me." The fact that the strongest members of the Friendly

¹⁴*The American Theatre*, p. 114.

Club were staunch Federalists accounts, in part at least, for Brown's gradual conversion to conservative principles. The influences which were changing radical Europe into conservative Europe were at work in America, and Brown reluctantly but candidly acknowledged the change.

With the group of brilliant and sympathetic men as his associates, Brown had every reason to think that his magazine would have a long and an honorable career, and bring him fame and fortune. On December 20, 1798, the editor states in a letter to his brother Armitt that the magazine will commence in February or March, and that it promises to be very profitable to him. Brown's proposals for the magazine have not been unearthed, but some idea of the editor's ambitions can be obtained from a communication signed *Candidus*.¹⁵ There Brown is addressed as promising "to extract the quintessence of European wisdom; to review and estimate the labours of all writers, domestic and foreign . . . and to speculate on the manners and morals in the style of Addison and Johnson." At the close of the first number the editor writes that some deviations from the original plan have been made. "There already exists," he says, "a sufficient number of vehicles of political discussion and political information, and it is presumed that readers in general will be best pleased with a performance limited to scientific and literary topics."

The plan of the magazine was conventional. Materials were classified as original communications, selected, and poetry. To these Brown added a new department, the American Review, which in time became the most important section.

While the most significant of the original literary articles are Brown's, it is not true, as is commonly asserted, that the bulk of that department is from the editor's own pen. A careful study of the contents leads to a contrary conclusion. Of the fifty-two pieces making up the literary section only four are known to be Brown's, and but three others

¹⁵The opening articles in the first issue of the magazine.

are probably his. By actual count the editor's own contributions reach to less than half the total number of pages. *Edgar Huntly, a Fragment; Thessalonica, a Roman Story; Memoirs of Stephen Calvert; A Lesson in Concealment or Memoirs of Mary Selwyn; The Trials of Arden; Dialogues of the Living*, and a series of six original letters, which Paul Allen in the Allen-Dunlap biography identifies, though wrongly, with Brown's first romance—these make up our author's known contributions to the magazine.

Much of the original matter consists of short critical articles from various pens. Two essays, one by "Candidus" and the other by "M," are valuable for the light they throw on the status of American literature at that time. The latter remarks on its superficial character. This superficiality, the author avers, is due to five causes: the love of gain which pervades the United States, the defective character of our higher education, the lack of leisured and learned men in America, the meager reward for the writer, and finally the scarcity of books. The article closes with a eulogy of Brown and his magazine in helping to break down these barriers.

Of the actual support from the members of the Friendly Club disappointingly little can be said. Smith had died before the appearance of the first number, though his poem on the occasion of the opening of the New York Theatre under Dunlap's management was published in the magazine for June, 1799. Mitchill wrote four articles on the nature of alkalies and one on the anatomy of the shark. Dunlap, in many respects the ablest writer among them, and from whom Brown justly expected much, contributed an insignificant article on Chick-Willow and two important ones on the comparative merits of Elizabeth Inchbald's and Anne Plumptree's translations of Kotzebue's *Lovers' Vows*. No contributions from Johnson, Adams, Wells, Bleecker, or Kent have been identified, though some of the numerous short critical articles on science, literature, and art under the signatures of Francisco, Crito, M., L., N., Z., Q., X., L., N., L., M., and T. are likely enough from some of their pens.

A fair impression of the nature and variety of the topics that appeared in the magazine may be received from an enumeration of some of them. There were essays on apparitions, cards, female charitable societies, longevity, punning, shaving, the style of Gibbon, and sketches of the leading men and women of the day. These essays, though lacking in humor, are spicy and vigorous. Of satire there was a plenty, but the magazine and the age were too serious for humor. Critics often remark on the absence of humor in Brown's works as though it were a quality of style peculiarly wanting in him: they simply fail to observe that the closing decades of the Eighteenth Century are strikingly deficient in that saving grace.

It will be observed that the quantity of original matter decreased perceptibly from the beginning. While there was no lack of articles sent to this department, they were of too ephemeral a nature to keep alive the magazine. The editor found it devolving more and more upon himself to compose the leading literary articles. Of the various contributors only a few were prominent, among them Richard Alsop, John Davis, Lindley Murray, and William Dunlap. Undoubtedly the contribution that caused the greatest stir was from the pen of Noah Webster in defense of his *History of the Pestilence*, which had been unfavorably examined in a thirty-page review.

From the beginning the Review section of the magazine was vigorous, and showed the keenest insight into the literary problems of the day. It was in this department that Brown evinced the greatest skill, and it was this part of the journal that disturbed the even tenor of literary ways. Many of the reviews were unsigned, but, though it would be unwarranted to assume that they were all from Brown's pen, as editor he stood sponsor for them. He was amply equipped for his task; his classical education, his knowledge of French literature, and, what was more rare, of German literature, his own work as a writer of fiction, and the Quaker honesty and high seriousness that were so much a part of him—all these, combined with a conscious purpose to create and foster a native literature that all Americans

could take pride in, mark Brown as the greatest critic in America before Edgar Allan Poe. Like Poe, Brown, led by the new awakening in science to realize the crudeness of the machinery of the Gothic romance, analyzed and rationalized everything. Unlike Poe, Brown had a broad, sympathetic standard of literary criticism, and he held fearlessly and calmly to that standard; no namby-pamby compliments or hasty sentimental judgments came from his pen. Above all things Brown detested false show and parade of talent where no talent is; no one inveighed more strongly and more persistently against the spirit that has so long been associated with the American character—the spirit of boastfulness. He set himself squarely against current tendencies toward money-grabbing on the part of his countrymen, but he defended them against the hasty condemnation of European travelers and the slurs of English literary critics. Brown was unerring in his judgment of the best literary work that was being done in America, and he pointed it out with precision. He felt that encouragement was needed, but he realized that in the long run the best encouragement and stimulus to a healthy native literature would be a wise and sympathetic, if severe, dealing with that literature. The same high standard of excellence followed by British reviewers must be applied to our own productions. Brown wished young America to see that there was ample material in the New World for story and song, that it was time to cease relying on British models. While he was in no sense blind to the superiority of English letters, he saw that there must be a literary, as there had been a political, break with the mother-country before any excellence could come out of America.

As a reviewer Brown had only one rival—Joseph Dennie of the *Portfolio*. If Brown was saner and on the whole more reliable, his friend of the *Portfolio* was perhaps more brilliant. Dennie, for instance, at once saw the merits of the *Lyrical Ballads*, reminding one of Lamb's unerring judgment of that volume. Brown, on the other hand, was slow to recognize genius, but his judgments when once formed were always to be relied upon. His mind at first had a

very definite eighteenth-century bent, but with the beginning of the new century a definite turn toward romantic conceptions of art came over him. In this connection it is significant that the poetry which measured up to his idea of greatness was that of Thomson, Akenside, and Cowper. Southey's early poems, romantic and revolutionary in spirit, he hailed as works of genuine value.

That Brown was at home in the field of criticism is evidenced by the fact that the Review section bulked larger and larger. For the first few issues it averaged about ten pages per number, but in the last two issues thirty of the eighty pages were devoted to it. It became in time the most influential as well as the most efficiently conducted department of the magazine. Among the leading reviews were those of Benjamin Smith Barton's *New View of the Tribes of North America*; Benjamin Trumbull's *Complete History of Connecticut*; William Robertson's *History of America*; Count Rumford's *Essays: Political, Economical, and Philosophical*; Robert Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*; Jeremy Belknap's *American Biography*; and Noah Webster's *A Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases*.

A glance at Brown's review of Webster will throw some light on his methods of reviewing. His criticism is dignified, judicious, and discriminating; in fact, it is worthy of Lord Jeffrey and the *Edinburgh*. The critic points out that both the nature of the subject and the manner of treatment will claim an uncommon portion of attention. He observes that while Webster, to minimize his want of technical knowledge, may justly contend that such knowledge is not necessary in a popular treatise, he cannot offer a like extenuation for the crying errors of the book: the want of method, proportion, and emphasis. It is lamentable that such a voluminous work lacks an index; and it is amusing that one who sets himself up as an authority on the English language could be so negligent of his style. His sentence-structure is weak, his diction careless, his scheme of quotation confusing, and his spelling unpardonably slipshod,—for example, he omits the final vowel in such

words as *famine* and *determine*. Webster's remarks on travelers and historians are superfluous, and suggest the spirit which students too often display—that of depreciating every object of pursuit but their own. Webster's criticism of Gibbon is uncalled for, ungenerous, and untrue. "It is a strange assertion," the reviewer ironically remarks, "for the friend of religion [i.e., Webster] to make, that pestilential diseases are the effects of crowded population." Webster thus allies himself with the infidels. Yet Webster inconsistently exaggerates the magnitude of plagues and shamelessly acquiesces in many of the current superstitions associated with them. Webster is too sure of his conclusions, and he interlards his work too freely with moral reflections of an equivocal and hazardous kind.

Characteristically, Brown concludes his review with pointing out the value of the book, taking away much of the sting of his disparaging remarks. He compliments the author, and that highly, too, on the invaluable bits of information here gathered together, and he marvels at the time and energy expended in assembling the materials of so vast a work.

It was not to be expected that Webster could remain quiet under these strictures. He replied with vigor, and a battle royal was on. That he had no well-defined plan, he admitted; and he extenuated his faults by indicating the difficulty under which he labored. Webster said that the reviewer showed a want of candor and good judgment, and he enumerated Brown's past errors of judgment. Brown's reply to Webster gives an insight into his ability to handle a delicate situation. "We are charged," he said, "with being wanting either in attention or candor. Some discoveries of the author have not been particularly noticed by us, but, though it belongs to the critic to notice excellencies as well as defects, yet, if all are not pointed out, the omission is venial if sufficient account is given of the book to enable the reader to form a pretty good idea of its contents and merits." Further on he says: "A *candid* and *impartial* examiner will perceive that we have praised his industry, commended his ingenuity and acuteness of his

reasoning, the plausibility of his conjectures, and that weight of fact and deduction which has given at least probability to his theory; . . . and have *apologised* for the many negligencies and repetitions which are to be found in the work, as well as for the want of technical and chemical knowledge in its author. . . . We regret that the work on the whole was not more perfect, more thoroughly compacted, concocted, and elaborated, and such as the literary and critical reader had a right to expect from the author of an English grammar, and Dissertations on the English Language. For all such errors and ignorances we crave the indulgence and protection of an enlightened public." Could Brown have more deftly parried the shafts of Webster's indignation, the while he maintained his editorial dignity?

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the Review section was that dealing with contemporary poetry. It is here that one gains a closer insight into Brown's literary standards, and the tastes of the age. The closing decades of the Eighteenth Century were not particularly rich in poetry, especially in America; the new impulse of Romanticism was just beginning to make itself felt in the New World, finding its first noteworthy expression in the works of William Cullen Bryant. In his review of the poems of William Clifton, Brown clearly showed that he understood the various poetic currents of the day and that he could appreciate American effort. The sketch of the poet's life accompanying the poems contained a scathing attack upon American literature, one which Brown saw was eminently unjust, and consequently he felt called upon to defend his country's literature, learning, and genius against the charges brought in that sketch. He closed with sympathetic, but guarded, praises of the youthful efforts of Clifton, so untimely cut off from a life of promise. Brown did not hesitate to declare that for strength and elegance as well as for wit and fancy, Clifton had no rival in America. That the critic could be severe is abundantly evident. In his review of *Mount Vernon*, a poem by John Searson, he says: "The intellectual drivellings of a harmless simpleton

excite, by turn, our laughter and our pity; but the printer who can employ his press to turn such stuff to shape and give to ineffable nonsense 'a local habitation and a name,' deserves reprehension from all who feel reverence for the dignity of literature. When strangers light upon such volumes in our houses, smoothly bound and brightly lettered, what idea will they form of American taste? Will they not imagine that we have introduced the notion of equality even into the republic of letters?"

It was in the review of Samuel Low's poems that Brown took issue with Dennie on the question, then everywhere heard in America, of the congeniality of the American spirit to poetry. Dennie had asserted that there was neither atmosphere nor talent in America for the production of great poetry. Although Brown admitted the mediocrity of Low's work as well as that of the general verse, yet he urged that it would be an unwarranted assumption from that circumstance to declare that America was uncongenial or that talent would not arise. He showed an unbounded faith in the future of the literature of his country; and that faith seemed prophetic, for he almost lived to witness the publication of *Thanatopsis* and the *Sketch Book*.

The boldness and daring as well as the broad-mindedness of the reviewer can be seen in his remarks on the annual flood of sermons and addresses. Paine's *Eulogy of Washington* is characterized as full of bombast, glitter, and conceit. In a sermon on Salvation by the Reverend William Linn, Brown saw a grave danger to a healthy religion in the preachment that all those who know not Christ or who have never heard of him are lost. This was a daring utterance for any one to make in America at that time; only a few strong men like Paine and Jefferson questioned such "church" doctrine. In another case the reviewer protested against keeping alive the old animosities between Britain and America. In the end it might be said that Brown as a critic was really a kind of watch-dog guarding the reputation and good name of his country.

The poetry in the magazine was not particularly attractive either for its volume or for its quality. There were on

the average two pages of poetry per number, divided into original and selected. But it was hard, often impossible, to determine what poems were original. While some of the poetry was good, none of it had any high merit. Of the seventy-four poems in the magazine thirty-three were by John Davis, seven by Richard Alsop,—largely translations from the Latin and the Italian—and the rest were by numerous *Mathildas*, *Della Cruscons*, and *Peter Pindars*. They were of that nondescript variety so common in England during the transition from the purely neo-classic to the new romantic poetry. Brown said of the poems of Davis that they have “merit seldom to be found in the fugitive compositions of contemporary poets. Simplicity and tenderness are their characteristics.” Alsop’s work, the editor believed, was of a superior quality.

There was a section of *Selected* matter which took the whole world for its province. From the mass of stuff in English, French, and German periodicals Brown selected those portions which, he no doubt believed, would instruct the young American mind and arouse it to literary activity. In Volume III an important department known as Literary and Philosophical Intelligence, both foreign and domestic, was added. If for no other reason, this is valuable as bibliographical matter, for here one can pick up facts about first editions of books of more than passing value. In the closing number but one of the magazine a Theatrical Register of foreign and domestic plays is introduced. Brown’s magazine was one of the leading forces in making known German literature to America. In speaking of the plays of Kotzebue, Brown deplores the hasty and inaccurate translations of that popular dramatist. He remarks that it is in “vain to look for Kotzebue’s play either in translation or alteration. To show the gross ignorance and stupidity of many of those translators from the German who have seized the pen and dictionary at the instigation of hunger and the call of fashion, one will mention a passage in the translation

noticed above, which we confess affords us no small amusement."¹⁶ The defects are then pointed out.

The vogue of German literature in America during the last decade of the Eighteenth Century was considerable and it found congenial soil in Brown's periodical. While Brown believed that "the present teutonic fashion of writing may be as transient as any other kind," he saw in the dramas of Kotzebue and Schiller a wholesome influence. Some years before instruction was offered in German in our colleges, this young editor saw its value, and in strong terms recommended a serious study of the German language for the purpose of reading the literature in the original. The authors recommended for reading and study were Kotzebue, Gessner, Iland, Wieland, Novalis, Haller, Schiller, and Goethe. The editor further said that to study the German language is to study English etymologically.

Let us close this study of Brown's first venture as magazine editor by quoting from a contemporary estimate found in the second of the four *Dialogues of the Living*.¹⁷ It is in the form of a conversation between Edward and William. William opens the argument with the observation, which perhaps no one would dispute, that the magazine is not on a par with British journals. "What are its chief faults?" inquires Edward. To which William replies: "Why several. In the first place, the pieces are for the most part so confoundedly *grave* that it gives one the *blues* to go through a number. . . . You can hardly squeeze out one good bit of laughter, or one joke of tolerable relish, from all three numbers. Scarcely an anecdote—or a biographical sketch—or a pleasant turn of wit in the whole." Edward rejoins: "Perhaps a few pieces of humor might be advantageously introduced into this American publication. If I were acquainted with the editor, I would give him a hint on this subject. They tell me he is a candid man, and willing to receive all suggestions for improving his work." The speaker goes on to say that entertainment

¹⁶This refers to translations made by Charles Smith.

¹⁷Published in the last volume of the magazine

is fit only for women and children and students, that instruction should be the object of any magazine, and then he queries: "Do you dislike the magazine solely because it is too *solid* and *instructive*?" William: "There's a *Review* in it too! What miserable bungling! Did you ever see such stuff pass for *reviewing* before? Because the reviewers are so feeble and indecisive, one cannot tell what to think of an author when they get through with him. They praise in one paragraph and condemn in another. Sir, let me tell you, a few more such impudent reviews as they lately gave of a certain volume of sermons, will do their business for them. It is a dangerous thing to attack the clergy, above all other men." The speaker here refers to a review of a volume of sermons by Samuel Stanhope Smith, president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). Smith is berated unmercifully for his religiosity and for his want of tolerance to those who differ with him. Brown was sincerely and deeply religious, but he hated all kinds of shams and hypocrisies as thoroughly as ever Carlyle did. In this, as in many other ways, the serious Quaker reminds one of the stern Scot.

We have seen that *Candidus*, in the first number of the magazine, pointed out that the editor promised more than could possibly be performed, and that the magazine could not last long. He spoke only too truly, for with the closing of the year 1800, Brown and his associates, realizing that the country was unable or unwilling to support a monthly magazine of the high type they had projected, changed its name to the *American Review and Literary Journal* and proposed to publish it quarterly. In announcing the change, the editors said that there had been no effort made to secure patronage; that they had experienced the most flattering encouragement; that they were gratified to have established such a work; that their chief purpose had been to give literary standing to the new Republic and to controvert adverse foreign criticism. But the editors had come to realize that America was too thinly populated and too philistine to support a purely literary magazine. In changing its name and its periodicity they hoped to rejuvenate

it; but a magazine can not live on hope alone. Thus ends the first chapter of Brown's career as journalist. Though the *American Review and Literary Journal* was actually published during the next two years, with this periodical Brown had no connection. He returned to Philadelphia in July, 1801, and became a first-rate drudge in the mercantile business with his brothers.

POE'S READING: *ADDENDA* AND *CORRIGENDA*

BY KILLIS CAMPBELL

In an article entitled "Poe's Reading" published in *Studies in English* in the fall of 1925 (No. 5, pp. 166-196), I have endeavored to show, mainly by collecting statistics as to quotations and allusions, how far Poe was acquainted with the literature of his own and other countries. I wish here to give a few details supplementary to that article and in addition to call attention to several corrections that should be made.

On page 172 of my article I assert that Poe was "not attracted" to Robert Browning, thereby implying that he knew little of him and (as I supposed) had not read him. But my article had scarcely come from the press when I chanced to find in a book catalogue of Ernest Dressel North (No. LXXII, p. 60) an advertisement of a copy of Browning's *Strafford* which had apparently been presented to Poe by its author.¹ Whether Poe read *Strafford* or not we do not know, but the fact that he possessed a copy of it would seem to make it probable that he at least dipped into it, and also raises the question whether with this drama before him he was not perhaps attracted to other works of Browning.

By dint of generous aid from my colleagues and certain of my pupils, and a further examination of Poe's writings—especially of some rejected passages in his prose writings—I have been enabled to enlarge considerably my list of Poe's quotations from Shakespeare. The total number of quotations now known to me (and I cannot hope to have caught all of them) is, if we ignore repeated passages, forty-five,—of which twenty are from *Hamlet*; but a good

¹On the back of the paper wrapper enclosing this book, as we learn from the catalogue mentioned above, Poe has written his name, with the date "June 15, '46," a date that will appear not without significance when it is recalled that his volume of collected poems, *The Raven and Other Poems*, which had been dedicated to Mrs. Browning, was published in October, 1845.

many of these are repeated, some of them several times, so that the total number of quotations, if we should count each one as often as it occurs, runs past sixty.²

²A friend of mine objects that I should have given in my original article a definite reference to every quotation or allusion that I take account of there. This would have required a good deal more of space than I had at my disposal; but out of deference to his suggestion I shall set down here the quotations that I have noted from Shakespeare and from Milton. Some of these citations both from Milton and from Shakespeare are, it will be observed, inexact; and all the longer quotations I abbreviate. After each quotation I give the reference to Poe's works (as edited by Harrison) in parentheses. I make no attempt to record here the Shakespearean echoes and allusions that Poe makes,—such, for instance, as the allusion to *Hamlet* in his title "Some Secrets of the Magazine Prison-House" or the echoes of *Hamlet* in "For Annie" or the various Shakespearean echoes in *Politian*;—which are, according to my reckoning, well nigh as numerous as his actual quotations. I ought to add that I think it unlikely that all of Poe's Shakespearean quotations were drawn directly from Shakespeare or that he recognized all of them as Shakespearean.

The quotations from Shakespeare that I have succeeded in identifying are as follows:—

From *Hamlet*: "out-heroded Herod" (II, p. 187; III, p. 315; XV, pp. 20, 264; XVII, p. 289); "counterfeit presentment" V, p. 217; XI, p. 17); [see also "counterfeit resemblance" (*sic*) (VIII, p. 21)]; "angels and ministers . . . [of] grace" (VI, p. 4); "there's the rub" (XVI, p. 128); "wormwood [and] gall" (VI, p. 8); "Hyperion with a satyr" (*sic*) (VI, p. 14; IX, p. 47; *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, V, p. 116); "to the manor born" (*sic*) (VI, p. 123); "heart of hearts" (*sic*) (VI, p. 269; VII, pp. 69, 73, 116; XIII, p. 160; XVII, p. 306); "flashes of wild merriment" (*sic*) (*Politian*, p. 18); "observed of all observers" (VIII, p. 20); "There are more things in Heaven," etc. (VIII, p. 93; XIV, p. 173); "the stricken deer" (X, p. 104); "What's Hecuba to him," etc. (X, p. 220; XI, p. 89); the galled jade winces" (*sic*) (X, p. 106); "flat, stale, and unprofitable" (*sic*) (X, pp. 110, 214); "words, words, words" (VIII, p. 135; X, p. 189); "in my mind's eye" (XII, p. 43); "more honored in the breach," etc. (XII, p. 253); "a tale unfold" (XIV, p. 162); "conscience makes cowards," etc. (*sic*) (XIV, p. 183).

From *Macbeth*: "damned spot" (V, p. 91); "dares . . . becoming a man" (*sic*) (VI, p. 31); "trumpet-tongued" (VI, p. 148; VII, p. 68; XV, p. 85); "deep damnation of their taking-off" (*sic*) (XV, p. 85);

Supplementing and correcting my statement (on page 178 of my article) that Poe has no word of praise for Emerson except at the expense of Carlyle (see Poe's *Works*,

"scotch'd, not killed" (XVI, p. 174; Woodberry, *Life of Poe*, I, p. 277).

From *Twelfth Night*: "satisfying your eyes with the memorials," etc. (*sic*) (II, p. 205); "cakes and ale" (V, p. 58; XI, p. 4); "Oh, what a deal of scorn," etc. (XII, p. 190).

From *Julius Caesar*: "I pause for a reply" (II, p. 166; XVII, p. 332); "unkindest cut" (VI, p. 5).

From *As You Like It*: "The heathen philosopher when he had a mind to eat a grape," etc. (*sic*) (*Saturday Courier*, December 1, 1832); "old saws [and] modern instances" (*sic*) (V, p. 213); "melancholy boughs" (*Politian*, p. 26).

From *Midsummer Night's Dream*: "the course of true love," etc. (V, p. 194); "fine frenzy" (XIV, pp. 194, 255).

From *Othello*: "Mandragora, Nor all the drowsy syrups," etc. (III, p. 266); "put money in my purse" (*sic*) (VI, pp. 24, 26).

From *Henry IV*, Pt. I: "pale-faced moon" (VII, p. 120); "no more of that, Hal," etc. (XIII, p. 31).

From *Measure for Measure*: "But man, frail man," etc. (*sic*) (X, p. 109).

From *Richard II*: "Of worms, of tombs and epitaphs" (*sic*) (V, p. 266).

From *Merry Wives of Windsor*: "Fairies use flowers for their charactery" (VII, p. 32; XII, p. 155).

From *Much Ado About Nothing*: "flat burglary" (X, p. 108).

From *King John*: "With taper light," etc. (VIII, p. 115).

From *The Merchant of Venice*: "[hath] no music in his soul" (VII, p. xliii).

The quotations from Milton that I have caught are as follows:

From *Paradise Lost*: "fallen upon . . . evil days" (*sic*) (IV, p. 203); "[whom] not to know . . . argues," etc. (V, p. 183; XV, p. 259); "Hail . . . holy light" (VI, pp. 4, 7); "confusion worse confounded" (*Poems*, 1831, p. 21; VIII, p. 215; XI, p. 7); "barbaric pearls and gold" (*sic*) (VIII, p. 39); "fate, foreknowledge, and free will" (IX, pp. 187 ff.); "But say, if our Deliverer," etc. (IX, p. 277); "High on a throne," etc. (X, p. 108); "no light but rather darkness visible" (XIV, p. 53); "His form had not yet lost All her original brightness" (XIV, p. 54); "When the scourge . . . Call us to penance," etc. (XIV, p. 57; XVI, p. 76).

From *Comus*: "What chance, good lady," etc. (II, p. 283); "It in another climate, so he said," etc. (VII, p. 62); "What has night to

XVI, p. 122), I wish to call attention to a brief critical notice of *The Diadem* for 1846 in the *Broadway Journal* for December 20, 1845 (II, p. 374) in the course of which Emerson's "A Fable" is quoted and the poem is praised as being "exceedingly *piquant* and *naïve*." We cannot be certain that this is Poe's, but the circumstantial evidence is strongly in favor of this assumption, and the dig at the *North American Review* and the references to the *Missionary Memorial* and the *May Flower* of 1846 (to both of which Poe had contributed) in the same series of notices tend to strengthen this supposition. It should be added that Poe in a letter to Lowell of July 2, 1844,³ speaks of having read to Dickens a poem of Emerson's on the occasion of one of his interviews with him in 1842.

That Poe had read Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* is indicated by the fact that he quotes in his "Morella"⁴ Locke's definition of personal identity as "the sameness of a rational being."⁵ And he uses in the same paragraph⁶ the phrase "principium individuationis" (to be sure, a stock phrase) which Locke had employed in the same

do with sleep?" (VII, p. 157); "'Tis most true That musing meditation," etc. (IX, p. 290); "When the gray-hooded even," etc. (XII, p. 102); "May thy brimmed waves," etc. (XVI, p. 26).

From *Lycidas*: "spur which the true spirit doth raise," etc. (XI, p. 89).

From the lines "On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of a Cough": "Some star which from the ruin'd roof," etc. (VII, p. 30).

From the "Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester": "There be tears of perfect moan" (VII, p. 36); "And some flowers—but no bays" (*sic*) (*Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems*, p. 56).

From "Il Penseroso": "Forget thyself to marble" (XIV, p. 47; XVI, p. 75).

From the "Reason of Church Government": "will not willingly let die" (XIII, p. 177; XVI, p. 131; XVII, p. 56).

From the "De Idea Platonica": "Dicite sacrorum," etc. (VII, p. 27).

³Woodberry, *Life of Poe*, II, p. 94.

⁴Poe's *Works*, ed. Harrison, II, p. 29.

⁵*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. II, Chap. xxvii, § 9.

⁶Poe's *Works*, II, p. 29.

connection.⁷ That he had read Rabelais's *Gargantua* is indicated not only by his citation (twice) of the title of one of Rabelais's chapters,⁸ but by the fact (which I had overlooked) that he found in a footnote on *Gargantua*⁹ the French drinking song beginning "Remplis ton verre vide," two lines of which he quotes near the beginning of "Three Sundays in a Week."¹⁰

In the early version of "The Assignation" published in *Godey's Lady's Book* for January, 1834, Poe uses as a head-piece two lines from Goethe's "Das Veilchen" beginning "Und sterb ich denn," etc.¹¹ These lines he later quotes in "How to Write a Blackwood Article," and again (in vulgarized form) in "A Predicament," attributing them in each instance to Schiller. In *Godey's* the lines are correctly attributed to Goethe. In the same early text of "The Assignation" Poe cites from Schiller's *Wallenstein* the line "Ich habe gelebt, und geliebet" (following it with an English translation); and on the title-page of his *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (1840) he uses as a motto the three lines from Goethe's "Meine Göttin," beginning "Selt-samen Tochter Jovis," which he had earlier quoted in a footnote on "Al Aaraaf" (I, 1. 114). Both the lines from "Meine Göttin" and those from "Das Veilchen" he probably found in an article on "The Life and Genius of Goethe" in the *North American Review* for October, 1824 (XIX, pp. 303f), in which each of these poems is given, first in the original and then in English translation.

On page 189 of my article I make the statement that Poe nowhere mentions in his works E. T. A. Hoffmann. This statement I wish to correct,—or, at least, to modify. I should have said that Poe nowhere, so far as I am aware, refers *directly* to Hoffmann; for, apparently, he refers to him indirectly in his mention of the "Phantasy Pieces of

⁷*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. II, Chap. xxvii, § 3.

⁸Poe's *Works*, X, p. 194; XIV, p. 170.

⁹*Gargantua*, tr. Urquhart, London, MCMI, p. 108.

¹⁰Poe's *Works*, IV, p. 227.

¹¹As Dr. T. O. Mabbott has already pointed out (*Politian*, p. 73).

the Lorrainean Callôt" in his review of Longfellow's *Hyperion*.¹² Callôt, I am now informed, made illustrations for some of Hoffmann's tales, and it may be that this explains Poe's inaccuracy.

How far Poe relied on public libraries for his reading, I do not know. Most of the books that he read in his maturer years probably came to him from the publishers for reviewal; but while he was at the University of Virginia we know that he made use of the library there;¹³ and he doubtless made liberal use of the Academy library at West Point. That he also frequented the Athenaeum Library (now long since closed) while in Baltimore during his youth and early manhood is indicated by the fact that a number of the works referred to or drawn on in "Al Aaraaf" and other early writings were to be found in that library, including the *Koran* (with notes by Sale), the poems of Milton and of Moore, Tournefort's *History of Plants*, Clarke's *Sermons*, the works of Voltaire and Chateaubriand, Lewis and Clark's *Expedition across the Rocky Mountains*, and certain of the works of Joseph Glanvill.¹⁴

¹²Poe's *Works*, X, p. 39.

¹³Harrison, *Life of Poe*, p. 47.

¹⁴See a catalogue of the books in the Athenaeum Library (Baltimore, 1827), now preserved in the Peabody Library at Baltimore.

